The Nation

Vol. CVI NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1918 No. 2747

The Week

IN the hearings before the Senate Finance Committee on the so-called "McAdoo bill" for a $500,000,000 Government-owned corporation to advance funds to war industries, Mr. Harding and Mr. Warburg, of the Federal Reserve Board, have given somewhat qualified endorsement of the plan. Both of them agree that some such machinery, for financing "essential industries" whose new securities might not have found a market elsewhere, was absolutely required. Where they did not answer the criticisms of the pending bill was in the matter of the relations of the proposed War Finance Corporation to the Federal Reserve. The bill empowers the Corporation to issue its "notes or obligations," up to $4,000,000,000, such issues to bear interest, and "to mature not less than one year nor more than five years from the respective dates of issue." It has been erroneously assumed in some of the newspapers that these notes would be an outright addition to the country's circulating money. This is not so; on the contrary, they are short-term investments, and the bill provides that they "may be offered for sale publicly." But it is well understood that the purchasers would either be banks, or else firms or companies who would use the notes as security for bank loans; and the bill gives full authority to the Federal Reserve Banks "to rediscount and purchase paper secured by such notes or obligations." The question then recurs, how would such a possible new burden on the Reserve Bank credit facilities affect the power of those institutions to perform all their other important and exacting tasks?

FROM the banking community, Mr. T. W. Lamont, of J. P. Morgan & Company, has personally approved the bill, on the ground of its necessity to war industries. There has, he admits, been much talk of resultant inflation; but to this he answers that no one has suggested a better plan; that he has not seen "any methods proposed to accomplish the ends desired, and at the same time avoid all chance of minor evils resulting." But the question is hardly one of minor evils. There is undoubted force in Mr. Lamont's argument that quick action for financing needs of war industries is imperative and that no alternative plan has been suggested. The argument, however, applies far more convincingly to the general plan of a Government-owned corporation to lend the money than it does to some of the specified machinery. The bill opens up the possibility of $4,000,000,000 short-term note issues, rediscountable at the Federal Reserve Banks. That privilege may not be used on any such scale; but if it were to be so used, at the moment when future war loans or Treasury bills were drawing on the facilities of those institutions, it would create an undoubtedly serious problem. The real trouble with the discussion up to date is, that no one has given to the public any clear idea as to what and how great the requirements of the assisted industries will be, and that, therefore, the question as to the probable extent of recourse to the Reserve Banks is left completely in the dark, so far as public information goes.

THE sixth State to ratify the Federal prohibition amendment, Maryland, has not had State prohibition, is known for her distilleries, and has lately been a land flowing with cheer for thirsty Washingtonians. Opponents of the amendment who took with equanimity the ratification by Mississippi, by each of the Dakotas and Carolinas, and Virginia, and hardly turned a hair when Kentucky came into the column, are now observed to blench. Maryland had been counted as a State determined to stay "wet," and the Legislature voted in the face of a declaration by the influential Cardinal Gibbons. Will her neighbor, Delaware, also counted safe by the "wets," follow her example? It must be remembered that twenty-nine States are fairly conceded to be favorable to the amendment, and only seven more are needed. One of the manœuvres of the "wets" is apparently going to be an appeal for a popular referendum in cases where the Legislature seems to incline towards ratification. But two can play that game. If a referendum in Missouri, giving St. Louis full opportunity to express herself, might block amendment, in States like Massachusetts the outcome would be doubtful, and in some suffrage States it would give an advantage to adherents of ratification.

ESTILL SPRINGS, Tenn., February 12.—Jim McIlherron, a negro, who shot and killed two white men here last Friday, was burned at the stake here to-night after a confession had been forced from him by application of red-hot irons.

HAD any such item as this come out of Belgium or Armenia, we should know what to think of the unspeakable Germans and Turks responsible. A wave of horror would sweep over the country and there would be an extra rush to the enlistment offices. But when Americans thus debase themselves nobody volunteers to end the evil, nobody speaks about it—at least nobody who is white—and we complacently turn to the congenial task of setting up democracy in Germany. "The application of red-hot irons" is now a regular feature of these tortures—this is the second of the kind within a couple of weeks. In the other case, the man's eyeballs were slowly burned out—without even an apology to the Sioux. There is a Canadian soldier going around the country deeply stirring our rural communities with the tale of the crucifixion of three Canadians by German fiends. What reception would one of our black soldiers get if he were to lecture on the fiendishness of burnings in the South?

TWO Southern States are seriously considering the adoption of compulsory education. Four years ago Governor Manning recommended a "local option compulsory attendance law" for South Carolina. Such a law was passed and has been accepted in more than two hundred school districts. Now Governor Manning thinks the time has come for a longer step, and accordingly he recommends a law for the entire State, permitting exemption from its operation "only to those districts petitioning for the suspension of the law for one year." The Columbia *State*, as we should expect, urges this extension. "Without compulsory school attendance," it says, "no democracy is safe . . . and one-fifth of the people of South Carolina are illiterate. Many more

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are nearly illiterate." As for the money, it must be raised —"if not in one way, by taxation, then in another, by a bond issue." In Virginia a bill has passed the House of Delegates which, in the opinion of the Richmond *Times*, "will mark the beginning of a new epoch in the educational life of Virginia if the General Assembly writes it into law." There also the question of money is an obstacle, and another is "the ever-present negro problem." Both must be regarded as obsolete in this connection, the *Times* holds, although education of whites and blacks on equal terms cannot mean in Virginia, as in the North, "one building, one room, and too often one seat . . . for both races."

THE sure way to intensify the shipyard trouble fifty-fold was discovered by a Staten Island draft board within twenty-four hours—to call up strikers of draft age and throw them into Class I. The immediate result was the threat of a strike by all the 15,000 or 20,000 carpenters in the harbor. Had such action been persisted in, other branches of labor would have been angered, and all the Government's relations with it compromised. Such an irresponsible move invited and received prompt rebuke. Mr. Bloomfield, head of the industrial service section of the Shipping Board, has demanded of the draft boards that they call no shipworkers for service, whether at work or striking. It would seem incredible that the folly of using compulsory military service to bludgeon discontented labor back to its tasks could be attempted in a free country, did we not know that it was attempted, in one form or another, in Great Britain. The results in England are a standing warning. Mr. Gompers, who is moderation and loyalty itself, speaks in his statement of last week of "certain employers" who are "grasping after their vanishing autocracy," and seeking "to destroy labor by placing upon it the responsibility for any failure in the war programme." Sporadic use of the Draft law to punish strikers would breed in all labor the conviction that the war had seated more firmly than ever this recently vanishing "autocracy."

STEADY progress in saving the historical sites of the State of New York has been made by the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society. In its report for 1917 it describes the three chief additions of the year—the Stark's Knob field, of interest geologically and for its connection with Burgoyne's defeat; the Temple Hill Monument, marking a Revolutionary site, as also the birthplace of the Society of the Cincinnati; and the Sir Guy Johnson home, a colonial mansion in the Mohawk Valley. Thanks to this society, Stony Point and Lake George battlefields, Battle Island in the Oswego, Watkins Glen, such buildings as Philipse Manor, the Schuyler mansion at Albany, Sir William Johnson's Hall at Johnstown, and many other places of interest, are now well-cared-for public properties. This society has been laboring for the creation of a public park at Croton Point, a place of historical note on the Croton and Hudson which would be valuable to New York excursionists; has been laying bare the historical interest in the sites of Fort Montgomery and Sloan's Mountain Redoubt; and has been coöperating with local historical bodies in placing markers.

MAYOR HYLAN clearly throws down the gauntlet to good government by his dismissal of the members of the Board of Appeals of the Committee on Heights of Buildings. This body has under its control vast real estate interests; it renders final decision on all questions that may arise under the new Zoning law. The next appeal is to the law courts. Not only individual property owners are subject to its jurisdiction, but the city also may be made or marred by the Board's rulings. The purpose of the Zoning law is to give the city a healthy and normal development, grouping manufactories, skyscrapers, and residences in different quarters of the town. On the other hand, this districting was to be done with the least possible hardship to real estate holders. The Board, as constituted before Mr. Hylan began to "reorganize it," had an excellent reputation for absolute integrity and ability. Mr. Hylan will be under close scrutiny while appointing the new Board. The quality of these appointments will be the final test of the nature of his interest in the honest and capable governing of the city of New York.

LAST week in the United States District Court in Brooklyn was enacted a scene which ought to be of greater comfort to Americans than a battle won or ten new merchantmen launched. Paul Hennig, indicted upon what appeared *prima-facie* evidence sufficient to warrant a grand jury's finding against him, convicted beforehand by the sensational, spy-thirsty press, on no evidence whatsoever, was acquitted by a jury of his peers, practically at the instance of the District Attorney, who became convinced during the course of the trial of the innocence of the accused. This trial is notable for the discovery of a District Attorney of Mr. France's calibre, who was willing to forego pride of professional success and ignore popular hysteria. The presiding judge summed up the sentiment of all right-thinking people in this matter when he said:

> Remember, the United States can much more honorably undergo whatever may happen from acts of those who are found not guilty than to wrongfully punish one man who has not been shown to be guilty, but who, on the contrary, apparently has been able to show he was not guilty.

THE mischief-making alarmist would be unhappy these grim times if he could not always recur to the old bogey of Mexico's glowering hatred for us. The remarks of a dyspeptic merchant pestered by a Yankee interviewer; the pyrotechnics of an irresponsible newspaper; the most trivial rumor of German gold—these provoke another wild pealing of alarm bells which no one heeds. Surely the limit is reached when the style of a congratulatory note upon the Kaiser's birthday is offered as irrefragable evidence of Mexican malevolence to us. Mexican style tends always to the Corinthian rather than the Doric; and it was just a year ago that another such message called forth an official explanation that it was all *pro forma*. It may be believed that the Mexicans are much too busy rebuilding their half-ruined country just now to worry about foreign relations with anybody.

AMID the rush of war news much that is important escapes public notice. Thus, the cables gave no genuine understanding of the remarkable heckling to which Lloyd George was subjected on January 18 by members of the labor union congress which he addressed. The *Evening Post* has reprinted this debate in full, and it is a discussion of which plainly the House of Commons would have been proud. Lloyd George himself must have breathed a sigh of relief when it was over and consoled himself with the thought that

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he could not have to withstand a more grilling cross-examination. The result was enlightening as to many points; but one statement in particular has wholly failed to attract the editorial attention it should have—the British Premier's acceptance of the doctrine that after this war only Governments should be permitted to manufacture arms and ammunition. So significant is this that it should have been blazoned across the front pages of all our American newspapers, for if it were written into the policy of the British nation hereafter it would be a deadly blow at the whole abominable business of stirring up strife among nations in the interest of armor-plate, cannon, and rifle makers. England has been the greatest offender along this line, with the Krupps and the Creuzots close behind, so that we have had the spectacle of Englishmen making the weapons that were turned upon their troops in Turkey and in other quarters of the globe. The way that naval scares are rigged up to promote the sale of battleships has repeatedly been set forth, the two worst examples of late being the British naval missions to Greece and Turkey which stirred up those countries to arm against each other—by building ships in British yards, of course—and the suborning of Japanese naval officers with Krupp gold to get up a naval scare in Japan and place orders for big guns in Germany. It has been so foul and monstrous that one wonders how the world could have been so blind as to permit it. Now Lloyd George is converted despite all the arguments on the other side. Incidentally, he accepts one of the fundamental planks of the much-despised pacifists, who are enjoying the great satisfaction of seeing their militarist enemies coming to one after another of their positions, such as self-determination of nationalities, open covenants between nations, and now Lloyd George's pledge to war upon the private making of the weapons of human slaughter.

COMPARED with Great Britain's excellent showing for 1917 in the strengthening of the army and the industrial war service at home, and the fairly satisfactory condition of the food problem, the figures for new tonnage announced by Bonar Law last week are disappointing. In August, Mr. Lloyd George predicted that the year would show 1,900,000 tons of new ships, of which 484,000 tons were already built, 1,100,000 tons would be built in the second half of the year, and 330,000 tons would be obtained abroad. From foreign sources, according to Bonar Law, only 170,000 tons have been realized. For the cause of the Allies, however, it does not matter greatly whether Great Britain or the United States took over the new tonnage in American yards. What is more serious is the fact that instead of 1,100,000 tons there were built in British yards only 680,000 tons in the second half of 1917. The deficiency was acknowledged in December by Lloyd George, who gave two reasons: a lack of steel and labor and the necessity of converting thirty-five standardized steamers from tramps into oil-tankers, thus delaying their delivery by three or four months. The latter would presumably account for a shortage of about 120,000 tons, leaving the deficiency of 300,000 tons to scarcity of material and labor.

PRINCE LICHNOWSKY'S article in the *Berliner Tageblatt* well represents the general feeling of distrust with which the German public seems to view the Russian situation. The Bolshevik declaration that Russia is out of the war has not been greeted with any great evidences of joy. Prince Lichnowsky maintains that the war interrupted Germany's forty-year policy of conciliation towards Russia; that cessation of hostilities, without a real peace, will by no means restore the old status. If Russia develops any strength or unity at all out of her present chaos, she will not, he believes, tolerate a German-Austrian Poland, a German Courland, and a German-dominated Ukraine on her borders. The Prince does not say, in so many words, that an advanced Russian democracy will regard such a string of boundary territories as incompatible with its own freedom; that it will regard them as a continuing threat to its new democratic institutions. But this is what he really means. The German difficulty appears to be a fundamental one. Germany cannot feel herself safe so long as she comes to no definite understanding with Russia. On the other hand, such a definite understanding cannot be arrived at without imperilling the German autocracy.

IT is so unusual to find German and British statesmen agreeing on anything that we must not miss the parallel between the recent utterances of Gen. Smuts and Dr. Solf in condemnation of the militarization of Africans. Smuts told an English audience that a prime reason for combating German expansion in Africa lay in the probability that the Germans would train great armies of natives to be employed both on their own and on other continents. Speaking in Berlin at nearly the same time, Dr. Solf declared that the drilling in arms of the Africans called for special consideration now that its "fearful consequences" had been revealed by the war. "There was no doubt that the possibility of recourse being had in future to native armies would constitute a fresh threat to European peace, and that the militarization of the natives would severely prejudice the development of the African colonies." He went on to say that a fair division of Africa would in itself discourage the development of the military resources of its different populations, as leading to mutual agreement against training natives; and assured his hearers that Germany would direct all her energies "toward securing the formal restriction of militarism in Africa by the treaty of peace." 'Tis a consummation devoutly to be wished, from the point of view of both Europe and Africa.

IT now appears that Great Britain is in accord with Trotzky in the matter of repudiating the Anglo-Russian agreement regarding Persia. On January 28, Lord Curzon made in the House of Lords an announcement, on behalf of the British Government, similar to that of Trotzky to the "Citizen Ambassador" of Persia. After recounting the way in which England had been led on by Russian pressure and German scheming to go further in Persia than it had originally intended, and to pass from economic control to a virtual political partition, Lord Curzon said: "The great change in the situation produced by recent events in Russia has given to His Majesty's Government a welcome opportunity of testifying their sincerity." By this he means sincerity in disavowing designs upon "the political independence of the Persian kingdom." He immediately added: "We have informed the Persian Government that we regard the Agreement [the Anglo-Russian Agreement] as being henceforward in suspense. It does not greatly matter which was first in repudiating the Agreement, Russia or England. The main thing is that it has been done by the Governments of both.

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Labor in War and Peace

THE strike of the ship carpenters and the Hog Island incident cannot fail to give fresh emphasis to the report of the President's Mediation Commission. Appointed to settle the serious labor disturbances in the Western copper and lumber industries that last year threatened the Government's war programme, this Commission has presented an analysis of the underlying causes of industrial unrest and has made specific suggestions for improvement that have importance far beyond the immediate period of the war. The primary cause of industrial disturbance is found to be the existence of a wrong spirit in industry, which is due at bottom to "insistence by employers upon individual dealings with their men. . . . This failure to equalize the parties in adjustments of inevitable industrial contests is the central cause of our difficulties." Add to mutual ignorance the lack of any continuous machinery for the disinterested settlement of inevitable disputes, and we are bound to get strikes, with their accompanying violence, or if such action offers no hope of success, then sabotage, "the strike on the job," which in its economic results is only less serious than the actual strike, and in its effects on character is even more disastrous.

To meet these conditions Western employers too generally have used only repressive measures, forgetting that this is the surest way to bring about the growth of radical doctrine and extreme action. In the copper camps and in dozens of other places they have used a false "loyalty" issue to break strikes and prevent the redress of perfectly legitimate industrial grievances. Such action "in the minds of the workers tends to implicate the Government as a partisan in an economic conflict. . . . There is no doubt that the Bisbee and Jerome deportations, the Everett incident, the Little hanging, and similar acts of violence against workers have had a very harmful effect upon labor both in the United States and in some of the Allied countries." According to the Commission, the much misunderstood I. W. W., instead of being a nefarious group of conspirators holding subversive doctrines, "is to a majority of its members a bond of groping fellowship," which "is filling the vacuum created by the operators" in opposing all collective action among their men. One need not admire the doctrines of the I. W. W. leaders in order to appreciate the correctness of this diagnosis.

Seeking to insure that maximum production imperatively demanded by war, the Commission has placed its finger unerringly on the two primary requirements, so far as labor is concerned: democratic organization of industry and fair distribution of its product so as to insure the hearty cooperation of labor, and proper hours and conditions of work so as to keep up efficiency. To find an official Commission speaking of labor unrest as "at bottom the assertion of human dignity" is to meet a welcome indication that the essential character of the labor problem is recognized as one of adjustment to democratic ideals, and not a mere question of twenty-five cents a day more pay. The specific demands of the workers, mostly concerned with wages and hours, though they are the immediate occasion of conflict, the Commission rightly puts in second place. The employees are not always right in their demands and the employers wrong; but the latter have too often failed to understand the human element in their problem and have interpreted the striving after better conditions as insubordination and ingratitude.

What then are the remedies? There is the short and easy appeal to socialism. But whatever the ownership of capital, the problem is one of relations between management and men, and public officials are quite capable of being autocratic. Instead of a formula, the Commission wisely urges specific measures: First, "the elimination to the utmost practical extent of all profiteering during the period of the war." Second, the Commission proposes as part of a national labor policy some form of collective relationship between management and men. This is a hard saying, particularly in view of the sorry character of much American labor leadership; yet it is essential if we are to combine maximum production with progress towards democratic organization. Let the employer condemn to the full the evils of organization as he has known it, but let him recognize that he can get rid of those evils not by fighting organization so as to keep his men subject, but by dealing with his employees democratically as equal partners in an enterprise dependent on the coöperative effort of both sides—this is the proposal that will be widely made and widely accepted.

Third, the Commission would have continuous machinery for the prompt adjustment of disputes as they arise, before they have aroused hard feeling. It would establish the eight-hour day as the general rule, frankly on the ground of its importance to the workers as human beings and not mere working machines; and it would, for the period of the war, put the labor administration of the whole country under unified direction, as has indeed now been formally done. This last measure might well be made permanent, at least in part. In peace as in war we want the best possible utilization of labor power with the minimum of unemployment and consequent waste and suffering, and this requires organization on a national scale. The principle is clear, though there are technical difficulties a-plenty.

Prevent profiteering, establish a practical partnership in determining the conditions of industry, set up machinery for impartial settlement of disputes, fix a normal working day, and provide an intelligent system of preventing unemployment—and then labor must give up all practices that tend to restrict maximum efficiency. The Commission does not labor this point; yet it deserves strong emphasis. Opposition to labor organizations among right-minded employers has rested, not on autocratic desire for domination over the workers, but on experience with restrictive union practices, with arbitrary limitations and interferences that seriously hamper the proper management of industry. Labor has duties as well as rights, and he is no friend of labor who fails to point them out.

A programme like this, animated by a genuinely democratic ideal, conservative in the best sense, ready to accept new measures to meet new conditions and yet holding fast to what is good in the old—a programme like this appeals to hard-headed persons willing to look facts in the face and preferring to think in concrete measures rather than in unanalyzed general formulas. One thing is clear. War or no war, things cannot remain just as they have been. The growing political power of labor will inevitably be used for industrial ends. If it is not to be directed into channels of radical experiment along untried lines, we must welcome constructive suggestions that promise to place the skill and knowledge of the employer more effectively at service of the community, and to bring labor into whole-hearted and friendly coöperation.

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Our National "Breakdowns"

VIGOROUS action by the President has brought to an end the shipyard strike on the Atlantic Coast. To be sure, Mr. Wilson's intervention is not quite the thunderbolt stroke demanded by some of cur Napoleons of the press who were going to settle the trouble by sending the strikers to the trenches or standing somebody up against a wall or something equally dramatic and effective. The President's message to the shipwright union laid down the principle that vital national work must not be suspended while grievances are in process of adjustment. Until that principle was accepted he refused to give a personal interview to the head of the carpenters' union. With this ultimatum, however, went the promise that labor would be given "the best possible conditions" and protected against "lawless and conscienceless profiteering." The ultimatum was accepted by the union without a surrender of principle. The strike has been called off, but Mr. Hutcheson, for the union, insists that a personal discussion with the President is the only way in which to solve the question. In the same letter that announces his intention to comply with the President's wishes, Mr. Hutcheson repeats his request for a personal interview.

This method of give and take is the only one which is consistent with democracy and with the successful prosecution of war work. For that matter, let those who are so ready to invoke the penalties of treason against the demands of labor recall that even in imperialistic Germany the Government has found it necessary to reason and conciliate. That the German Government has intimidated strikers with the threat of the trenches is only rumor. What we know for a fact is that more than once representatives of the German trades unions have been in consultation with Hindenburg and Ludendorff, and that Hindenburg's name has been signed to public appeals and not to threats. England's experience should be enough to warn us against the perils inherent in a militarist policy towards labor. Nothing could be more mischievous for the morale of the nation and the efficiency of our war work than a repetition of the conduct of one local little Napoleon of a draft board who the first day of the strike threatened to invoke the draft against the strikers. We have been told that in England the growth of the revolutionary spirit in a certain section of the working classes has been stimulated by this feeling that their former employers are now their masters under Government sanction with power to invoke the national authority for what is not always a national interest.

Thus another "breakdown" in the conduct of the war has been repaired by Government action based on intelligent insight and the policy of give and take. Ah, yes, but why was the crisis ever permitted to arise, the experts in 100 per cent. efficiency will say. Why has not shipbuilding with the rest of the war work gone on humming from the flash of the pistol? We do not know why, otherwise than that the Administration shares certain human limitations with the British Government and the German Government and every other Government and administrator and chief of staff and commander-in-chief that has been tested by the unprecedented ordeal of a world war. Presumably the 100 per cent. critics, if *they* had been in charge, would have held out, in this matter of shipping, against the public demand for the wooden ships which were to win the war for us so easily; these critics are so notoriously above truckling to public opinion. They would have discovered over the week-end that Denman was in the wrong. They would have prevented the shipyard strikes on the Pacific Coast. They would have created out of hand this ship workers' reserve of a quarter of a million men which Chairman Hurley has built up, but alas, after what delay. To those of us not endowed with the perfect maximum of efficiency it would seem that it has not been altogether a breakdown, this establishment of industrial peace in the Pacific shipyards, the appeasement of trouble on the Atlantic Coast, the creation of the shipbuilders' reserve, and all without creating dangerous discontent.

It is not at all necessary to maintain that everything at Washington has gone as might have been desired. Mistakes of omission and commission have been made. There is confession of the fact, for example, in the negotiations now going on concerning the Overman bill, where it is once more shown how quickly Mr. Wilson can learn; so fast, indeed, that Senator Chamberlain may find himself any day in accord with the Administration. The Wilson policy of give and take will, in all likelihood, pull us out of another of our "breakdowns." But before stepping forth to claim credit for the betterment of things, the criers of breakdown and collapse and paralysis might well stop to reflect upon what the enemy press and leaders are doing with these piteous cries emanating from America. What has really broken down is the national sense of humor and proportion.

Bolo and Caillaux

SO acute an observer of things psychological as Mr. Galsworthy remarked the other day in his renewed impressions of the French people that now and then in that highly civilized, broad-visioned, and humanly sympathetic race one catches a startling flash of the tiger. Connect this with the popular nickname of the man now at the head of the French Government, and we understand something of the temper which lies behind the recent court-martial verdict upon Bolo Pasha. With this difference, however, that it was not an unprovoked ferocity of which this international adventurer is to-day the victim, but the sudden, crushing leap of a powerful organism goaded into action. We have here another vivid revelation of this French people whom popular opinion before the war too easily accepted as eaten up with factional politics and yellow-backed literature. It was the mistake the Kaiser made when he launched his army against an effete France only to encounter the Marne and the Spartan manifestation at Verdun.

Like the Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry of "national defence" formed in the midst of the Dreyfus affair twenty years ago, the Clemenceau Government, though not so complete a coalition, was brought into being by the general feeling that the nation was endangered from within. A series of "affairs" apparently ranging from national disaffection to outright treason broke upon the country. It began with the Almereyda case, in which the editor of an Anarchist paper, the *Bonnet-Rouge*, was arrested on the charge of preaching the gospel of "defeatism" under the inspiration of German money. There followed the arrest of a Deputy, Turmel, on the charge of accepting German bribes. There came the accusation by the editors of the monarchist *L'Action Française* that Louis Malvy, Minister of the Interior under Painlevé, had used his powers to protect the practitioners of treason. The Painlevé Ministry fell, Cle-

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menceau came into office, and the climax ensued with the arrest of Joseph Caillaux, denounced by his enemies as the mainspring in the entire elaborate machinery of disloyalty.

Against Caillaux the charges are by no means so clear cut as against Bolo. In his case consorting with the enemy is not, even according to his enemies, a question of selling one's self for money. Caillaux, at one time Premier, and at all times a power in the country, had for his main policy a rapprochement with Germany, long before the war. It has been his preliminary defence that he is still entitled to his own opinions of national policy. But his enemies say that boundless ambition made him welcome the opportunity which he saw opening for a peace with Germany and for himself the rôle of saviour of the nation. That opportunity seemed to become most promising in the summer of 1917 as the result of a period of national depression.

If a considerable section of the Chambers has rallied to the support of Caillaux, the reason is not altogether a belief in his full innocence. As a matter of fact, the bulk of his support has come, not from his own party of the Socialist-Radicals, which, in spite of its name, is a bourgeois party, but from the Unified Socialists, who on general principles would have no love for the bourgeois Caillaux. There has entered the complication that the campaign against Malvy, Caillaux, and their supposed accomplices was opened by the avowed monarchists of *L'Action Française*, by men like Léon Daudet, Maurras, and Pugliesi-Conti, in whose policy the Socialists discern a manœuvre against the republic. This will explain why men like Jules Guesde, Albert Thomas, and Marcel Sembat, who have stood for a vigorous war until France's "just" aims are attained, have voted against the Government in the Caillaux affair. In the stormy session of January 18, in the course of which a revolver was flourished from the tribune, 87 of the 118 votes cast against Clemenceau were Unified Socialist. Fundamental political questions and animosities are involved. The *Manchester Guardian* has said that a parallel to the arrest of Caillaux by Clemenceau would be for Lloyd George to clap Mr. Asquith into prison on the charge of high treason.

The evidence against Caillaux, so far as we know, is not of the convincing nature of the evidence adduced against Bolo in the form of his financial transactions with German agents in this country. But if the contents of the famous Caillaux safe-deposit box in Florence should turn out to be what some newspapers have made them, the former Premier's predicament is serious enough. In *L'Œuvre* for January 21 is published a detailed summary of the Caillaux memorandum, found at Florence, providing for a "reorganization" of the French Government. If the account is true, then M. Caillaux is in a bad case. His alleged scheme called virtually for the destruction of Parliament and the transfer of power to a Conseil d'état under a Minister in power for seven years, and removable only on impeachment. This smacks very much of a dictatorship. This memorandum also contained a list of Caillaux's nominees for power—Sarrail for Commander-in-Chief, others for Prefect of the Seine and Police Chief of Paris—as well as the names of men who must be banished from France. Briand and Viviani are there characterized as men of great talent, but "without character," who would do very well in some diplomatic office—abroad. How correct these anticipations of the Caillaux documents are and how near they can be brought to actual treason we must wait for time to show. The conviction of Bolo shows that Clemenceau is stripped for action.

The Republican Chairman

THE election of a Chairman of a National Committee is not ordinarily an earth-shaking event. But the action of the Republicans at St. Louis last week in making choice of a Chairman was felt to be symbolic. It would show what the attitude of the party is to be as regards past divisions and bitternesses; also as regards the war, with support of the Wilson Administration or attack upon it. There was no great interest in the personality of the Chairman, but real curiosity as to the policies he would represent and the forces in the party that would be responsible for his selection. Now that Mr. Hays, of Indiana, has been chosen, the questions people will ask relate less to the man himself than to the line he and those behind him will adopt.

Mr. Hays was a second-choice or compromise candidate for the position. All the indications, until Sunday, were that Mr. Adams, of Iowa, who had a majority of the National Committee pledged to him, would be elected. Then came the disclosure that in the autumn of 1914 he had written and published a strongly pro-German letter. It was not simply that: it was foolish, credulous, gullible. It swallowed at one gulp the whole German "White Book," with its stories of the wicked attack upon Germany, the contemplated violation of Belgian territory by the French and English, and all the rest of it. That this would never do was at once perceived by the Republicans. They had about all the party could carry in the shape of a pro-German leader in the House. If Adams were added to the Mann burden, the Republican back would be broken. And the leaders, in turning to Hays, have apparently got a Chairman with a good record and of sufficiently good promise. He has done his part in helping the Republicans of Indiana to recover from their blunders and disasters, and may be expected to work for conciliation and unity in the national field.

The days have passed, however, when men thought of a National Chairman as a miracle-worker. The prestige of the office has visibly declined. It is not at all probable that Mr. Hays can attain anything like the prestige of such Chairmen as B. F. Jones, Quay, and Mark Hanna, or, on the Democratic side, "Seven-mule" Barnum, Senator Gorman, and W. C. Whitney. In an earlier epoch the Chairman had more money to spend, relatively, in a campaign, with no inconvenient accounts to render. To this day, the campaign fund which Hanna had at command in 1896 is only guessed at. And in the Golden Age of National Chairmen, their power was more arbitrary and unquestioned. Mr. Willcox, on retiring, stated pathetically that he remained of the conviction that Hughes would have been elected in 1916 if only "the instructions of the National Committee" had been carried out. In old times, the Chairman would have seen to it that his orders were obeyed. If not, somebody's neck would have been broken. But perhaps Mr. Willcox only meant that the "instructions" were merely to see to it that the Republicans got a majority of the votes! He had his full of the trials of a Chairman under modern conditions. His resignation was regarded as the natural sequel of a lost campaign; but Mr. Willcox's political eclipse can hardly be more complete than was that of Mr. McCombs, who, in 1912, *won* his campaign. A National Chairman can never tell where next blame or ingratitude will attack him.

The man behind the Chairman is the one over whom Republicans have just now most cause for worry. All the

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accounts from St. Louis agree that Senator Penrose is that man. Even Republican correspondents speak of him as "dominating" the meeting of the National Committee. It was Penrose who delivered the ultimatum and arranged the deals leading up to the election of Mr. Hays. When Adams was forced to concede his defeat, and demanded the position of Vice-Chairman as consolation prize, it was before Penrose that the case was laid, and it was Penrose who decided that a little thing like pro-Germanism did not matter in a Vice-Chairman. With the old Taft manager, Frank Hitchcock, the Senator from Pennsylvania attended to all the fine details of proxies and swinging votes in the right direction. It was seemingly this prominence of Penrose which so staggered Mr. George W. Perkins that he could not talk, and led him to refuse to give an interview at St. Louis on the result of the meeting of the National Committee, on the ground that anything he might say would be "misconstrued." It would be hard, however, to misconstrue the action of the Republicans in abolishing the executive committee of which Mr. Perkins was a member. Such action marks the final extinguishment of the Progressives as an organization which the Republican managers have to dread and seek to placate. It is the old-style Republicanism which now proposes to resume business at the old stand. The faithful are expected to prostrate themselves and acclaim Republicanism as great, and Penrose as its prophet.

War and Peace in Russia

THE resumption of the offensive by the German armies against the northern Russian front does not necessarily mean the beginning of a march upon Petrograd. Basing itself on the legal fiction of a "self-determined" Lithuania, Livonia, and Esthonia, the German army will be marching only for the defence of these "independent" nationalities against the Bolsheviki. Beyond that purpose it is hard to imagine a German army resuming the march upon Petrograd merely for the sake of compelling Trotzky to sign a scrap of paper. What, in the Bolshevik theory, would the value of such a document amount to? Or, if the Bolsheviki disappear, what would be the gain for Germany in Trotzky's sign-manual? On the other hand, a march into Russia would only be playing into the hands of the Bolsheviki. They would then have attained the aim they were striving for at Brest-Litovsk, the fixing of responsibility upon the German Government for the continuance of the war. The one professed hope of the Bolsheviki has been in the working masses of the Central Powers. Over the heads of the diplomats at Brest-Litovsk they have been appealing to the German and Austrian workers. Against their fellow-proletarians in the Central Powers the Bolsheviki have refused to continue a war begun by the Czar. They have demobilized. If now a German army should press forward against Petrograd, that moral argument which Trotzky has been addressing to the Teuton proletariat will become stronger than ever. Will the masses at Berlin and Vienna tolerate this war upon a nation that has thrown down its arms, that insists only upon its freedom of soul in not subscribing to an iniquitous peace, but which at the same time satisfies itself with this moral protest?

This raises a situation at home which the Allied Kaisers would have to take into account; as also they must take into account the possibility of a vast guerrilla warfare in Russia which would be not incompatible with Bolshevik principles. For the Bolsheviki might well argue that, having thrown down their arms rather than wage war against their Teuton comrades, it could not possibly be their German and Austrian fellow-proletarians that were marching upon Petrograd, but an imperialist army of conquest. If it be right for the Bolshevik forces to make war upon the capitalists of the Ukraine and Finland, it surely would be justifiable to make war on a German capitalist army in Russia proper. From such a prospect the Germans might well shrink. If their plans for an offensive in the west are real, it would now have to be abandoned. Their lines would have to be extended three hundred miles into the swamps of northern Russia, and into a region which even the most wild-eyed of Pan-Germanists cannot conceive as being brought under the ægis of the Hohenzollern. Finally, there is the consideration that a German march upon the Bolsheviki would inevitably lead to the overthrow of the latter and the reappearance of a real Russian war party.

More probable, therefore, in case the Bolsheviki maintain themselves in power and maintain their unarmed war policy, is a decision by Germany to advance on her present lines into the Ukraine, Poland, and Lithuania. Sentiment among the Teuton working masses might not tolerate an advance upon Petrograd in the absence of physical provocation and with no material gain in sight. But the situation is different if Teuton troops should be compelled to move into the Ukraine for the defence of the liberties of an allied and friendly nation against the aggressions of the Bolsheviki, and incidentally for the protection of the food supply so badly needed at Berlin and Vienna.

Thus the war between Russia and the Central Powers may be regarded at an end, if we think of the two in direct collision. But it is far from certain that Bolshevik armies and Teuton armies, or armies under Teuton leadership, may not yet be in active collision. Count Czernin rejoiced at Vienna over "the signing of the peace with the Ukraine, *with its bread.*" But what if that badly needed bread should be threatened by a continuance of the war between the Bolsheviki and the Ukraine? The latter country would then become something of a Manchuria after the Boxer uprising, where Russian troops established themselves for safeguarding this and that. It must be remembered that as yet the Ukraine is a state with only one frontier, the one conceded her on the west by the Teuton Powers. What of the eastern frontier as against Russia? Will whatever Government exists at Petrograd consent to all the claims of the Ukrainians, down to the Black Sea and inclusive of Odessa? This is a matter aside from the question whether a Bolshevik Government will tolerate a "bourgeois" Ukraine. It is a question whether any kind of Russian Government can see the great port on the Black Sea, the only remaining port in European Russia, now that Riga and Helsingsfors are gone, pass into enemy hands.

So with Finland. To-day an appeal comes from the commander of the White Army in that unhappy country for help in stemming the tide of Bolshevik "anarchy which threatens to inundate western Europe." And, in fact, the Central Powers have built up in Poland, Lithuania, and the Ukraine a great dike against that turbulent sea of proletarianism. What we must wait to see is whether the Bolshevik waves will mutely retire from that sea-wall or whether Teuton forces will have to be called in by Ukrainians and Poles and Lithuanians to help man the dikes.

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Copper Camp Patriotism*

By ROBERT W. BRUERE

THE loss of a hundred million pounds of copper last summer at a moment when the nation's need for the metal was acute called sharp attention to the epidemic of strikes that had spread through the copper mines from Butte, Montana, to Bisbee on the Mexican border. The press carried sensational headlines attributing these strikes to the colossal conspiracy of an "outlaw" organization known as the I. W. W., whose members were alleged to be anarchistic pacifists. The general public paid little serious attention to these rumors of sedition until the copper companies of Bisbee, taking the law into their own hands, collected some twelve hundred of these alleged traitors and cast them out into the New Mexican desert. Executed in the name of patriotism, these deportations failed of their ostensible object. They were overtly designed to restore the maximum output of copper; but the copper production continued to lag.

The strikes which shut down the copper mines of Arizona broke out in June; it was not until October that the Government, through the President's Mediation Commission, moved to get at the causes of what the Commission subsequently described as a "shocking dislocation of a basic war industry." The disastrous interval of three months was marked by a reign of lawlessness and violence which, trumpeted throughout Europe by the anti-capitalistic revolutionists of Russia, has seriously damaged the reputation of America as a refuge of the oppressed and a bulwark of justice and liberty. The President's Commission, headed by Secretary Wilson, of the United States Department of Labor, reached Phœnix, Arizona, in the first week of October. It was at Phœnix that I joined the Commission, and from Phœnix I accompanied them until they left Bisbee early in November.

In the meantime, the United States Department of Justice had thrown a dragnet about the leaders of the I. W. W. throughout the country. Some of them had been apprehended in Arizona. Almost two hundred of them had been imprisoned in Chicago. I expected to find abundant evidence of their seditious activity in the copper camps. At the forefront of the "patriots" who had engineered the deportation were the executives of the greatest metal-mining corporation in America, men distinguished for their philanthropy, and I felt certain that they would not have resorted to such unusual and extra-legal measures without consulting the Federal authorities unless they had been convinced that the best interests of the nation made prompt and drastic action imperative.

After some weeks of intensive investigation I was perplexed by my inability to substantiate this assumption. I could find no evidence of a treasonable conspiracy, and no traces of German gold, although I enjoyed unusual facilities for getting at the facts. These strikes, like hundreds of others that had broken out in the country, appeared to be nothing more than normal results of the increased cost of living, the speeding up processes to which the mine managers had been tempted by the abnormally high market price of copper, and to that urge towards democratic self-expression which, stimulated by our war for democracy, has made itself felt throughout the world. This impression was later confirmed by the findings of the President's Mediation Commission.

The business of the Commission was not to find indictments against individuals, but to make a dispassionate investigation of the facts with a view to the elimination of unreasonable and seditious trouble-makers and to the composition of legitimate differences of opinion between the copper companies and their striking employees. They say:

> Behind and controlling the factor which immediately led to the strikes are the underlying labor conditions of the mining industry of the State [Arizona], which were devoid of safeguards against strikes and, in fact, provocative of them. . . . In place of orderly procedure of adjustment, workers were given the alternative of submission or strike . . . there was no demand for a closed shop. There was a demand for security against discrimination directed at union membership. . . . The companies denied discrimination, but refused to put the denial to the reasonable test of disinterested adjustment. . . . The crux of the conflict was the insistence of the men that the right and the power to obtain just treatment were in themselves basic conditions of employment, and that they should not be compelled to depend for such just treatment on the benevolence or uncontrolled will of the employer. . . . Such agencies of the "public" as the so-called "loyalty leagues" only serve to intensify bitterness, and, more unfortunately, to the minds of workers in the West serve to associate all loyalty movements with partisan and anti-union aims. . . . These conditions may not have been left unavailed of by enemies of our war policy nor by exponents of syndicalist industrialism, but neither sinister influences nor the I. W. W. can account for these strikes. . . . The explanation is to be found in unremedied and remediable industrial disorder.

In other words, the main drift of the Commission's findings was not only to acquit the I. W. W. of the specific charge of treasonable conspiracy proclaimed against them by the copper companies, but also to shift the burden of responsibility for the Bisbee deportation and other acts of violence which attended the strikes to the managers of the copper camps themselves.

Were the deportations then, the destruction of hundreds of homes without due process of law, the establishment of extra-legal "kangaroo" courts, the hiring and use of hundreds of detectives and armed guards—were these acts inspired by the ordinary strike-breaking motives rather than by extraordinary considerations of patriotism? And did the companies, the masters of the copper camps, fail to consult the Government in advance in order to forestall its interference? Was the bogey of the I. W. W. raised like the world-enveloping smoke out of the fisherman's copper bottle in the Arabian Nights to becloud the real issues? Difficult of belief as they are, we must nevertheless draw these inferences from the conclusions of the President's Mediation Commission. "Patriotism" and the I. W. W. were raised as a screen between the lawlessness of the companies in their remote desert camps and the great public to whose sense of true patriotism and justice the striking men might have made an effective appeal. Indeed, one of the mine managers frankly declared that the Government had not been consulted because if the plans of the operators had

*In this article Mr. Bruère reports the results of his first-hand investigation of I. W. W. activities in the West, especially in the copper camps. In next week's *Nation* he will discuss the meaning of the conditions here described.

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been known in advance the Government would undoubtedly have blocked them.

The strike in Bisbee began on the 26th of June. This one alone, of all the strikes in the Arizona copper country, was initiated by the I. W. W. On the evening of June 30, a colonel of the United States army telephoned to Governor Campbell from Bisbee that "everything was peaceable, with few gatherings of men and no riots," and again on July 1 he reported to the Governor: "Conditions slightly improved here to-day . . . have assured Sheriff that all possible coöperation will be given him." The colonel had previously informed both the Governor and the sheriff that a squadron of cavalry was stationed within a few miles of Bisbee, and was ready for service at a moment's notice. Its aid was not called for by either Sheriff or "patriots" of Bisbee.

On the same date, July 1, the manager of the second largest property in Bisbee wired to the Governor that half his men were working that morning, and added: "Few pickets out . . . no violence or damage to property." Between July 2 and July 12, the day of the deportation, there is a break in the Governor's official record. There was no violence among the strikers in Bisbee, however; the army officer had reported that all was peace and that there was no need for the introduction of troops.

On the night of July 11 the same manager who had sent the reassuring message to the Governor, and who is now an officer in the United States army, addressed a meeting of "loyal citizens" who had decided to make a final clean-up of the troublesome strikers by deporting them and their alleged sympathizers. He conveyed the idea that the deportations were about to be carried out with the knowledge and consent of the United States Government. This was the distinct impression made upon the mind of a business man who attended the meeting and reported it to me. The "undesirables" were to be gathered up, placed upon a special train of box cars, and carried to Columbus, New Mexico, where, it was alleged, they would be received as if by prearrangement by a section of the United States army. Some twelve hundred men had been deputized as special sheriffs and armed. At the call of the Sheriff they were to sweep down the cañons of Bisbee, collecting all the strikers and their alleged sympathizers from their homes and the streets. Men who agreed to tie white handkerchiefs on their arms and join the posse were to be exempted. All the rest were to be corralled in the ball park in Warren, about three miles from Bisbee, preliminary to deportation.

A rallying point of the "patriots" was the United States post office building. The Sheriff told me that he had stationed a select company there because it was convenient to his headquarters, which he had established in the Phelps-Dodge or Copper Queen Dispensary near by. To avoid governmental interference, nothing was said of the plan to the officer of the United States army who was stationed at Bisbee. An officer of one of the copper companies, who was commonly called "Captain," made use of this convenient title to "order" the local manager of the Western Union Telegraph Company to cut off communication between Bisbee and the outside world. He made a similar attempt with the local manager of the Bell Telephone Company, but this manager knew that the "Captain" was not a "regular" and refused to obey. Thus it happened that the news of the deportation got out of Bisbee as soon as it did.

In the early hours of July 12 organized bands of armed "Loyalty Leaguers" under general command of Sheriff Wheeler swooped down upon the unsuspecting strikers and their alleged sympathizers—storekeepers, laymen, contractors, many men who had taken absolutely no active part in the strike. At the point of revolvers and under the muzzle of machine guns, the "loyalists" herded them together and drove them violently out, half clothed and unfed, in the hot summer sun. One of the most insistent instructions of the I. W. W. leaders to the men on strike had been that they should under no circumstances carry arms lest they become involved in trouble; that they should keep the peace, obey the law, and under no circumstances resist arrest. This is one of the reasons why the deportations were carried through with so little bloodshed. Had the strikers been guilty of such violence as was perpetrated by the companies and their sympathizers, there seems every reason to believe that the Governor would have found it possible to get troops into Bisbee. An insignificant demonstration on the part of certain strikers in Globe, Arizona, had demonstrated his ability to get troops when he wanted them.

For days and months after the deportation Bisbee was governed by a "kangaroo" court, an improvised body without legal standing, composed of Loyalty Leaguers sitting in state in a building owned by one of the copper companies. Such astonishing details throw some light upon what was probably in the minds of the President's Mediation Commission when they used the phrase "autocratic conduct."

After the Commission had completed their investigation of the strike and deportation in Bisbee, they addressed a letter to Sheriff Wheeler, in which they said:

> After a thorough and impartial consideration of the facts surrounding the deportation of the 12th of July and the practices which have been pursued since such deportation by those in authority in Cochise County, the President's Mediation Commission is convinced that once your attention is directed to practices which are *subversive of industrial peace and denials of lawful rights*, you will promptly take the necessary steps to have such practices abandoned.

Sheriff Wheeler's answer was non-committal. A few weeks after the Commission's report, the leading citizens of Bisbee banqueted the Sheriff, who, as the guest of honor, made an address, in the course of which he said:

> My friends, you pay me too much honor in this matter. There were scores of men in that drive the morning of July 12 who are entitled to more honor than I, who did more than I that day for the district and our home fires. I merely did my duty. I couldn't shirk. You could. But you didn't! President Wilson's Commission reported to him things about this district and the deportation of the Wobblies that were not true.

In describing the banquet the Bisbee *Daily Review*, self-appointed voice of the copper companies, reported that "it was a splendid gathering of high-class, patriotic business men and workers and professional men of the district. All were strong still in the faith, and they had gathered there to show the man who had led them and failed not just how they felt about him."

What is the significance of such facts as these in our American life? What bearing have they upon our successful prosecution of the war? What public measures do they call for if industrial unrest is to be successfully allayed while the war lasts, and if after the war we are to become a unified and efficient nation? For the lawlessness which deprived the nation of a hundred million pounds of copper last summer is only one symptom of a social malady which is by no means confined to the copper camps.

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The Future of Turkey in Europe

By NATHANIEL SCHMIDT

EVEN the semblance of Turkish dominion in Africa is now a thing of the past. France took possession of Algeria in 1830 and made Tunis a dependency in 1881. By the treaty of Ouchy, Tripoli was ceded to Italy in 1912. The Khedivial dynasty in Egypt was overthrown, the allegiance to Turkey renounced, and a British protectorate established in 1915. This act still awaits ratification, but the issue is scarcely in doubt. There has been a change of sovereignty everywhere. In this realm no independent nation has been formed and no representative government introduced.

In Asia, Turkey is losing its hold on the subject peoples. Arabia is practically gone. The Sherif of Mecca has proclaimed himself King of Hejaz. Medina is besieged; Yemen is almost reduced; Bahrein, Oman, and the Wahabi states are independent. It has been proposed to weld all Arabia into one commonwealth, give it a suitable and stable government, provide it with means of communication, insure general security within its borders, and offer it opportunities of education. The question is whether this can be best accomplished, and the interests of the world be most effectively safeguarded, by handing it over as a protectorate to one of the great Powers or by international aid and control.

Palestine is no longer in the power of Turkey. Jerusalem has fallen; Beersheba and Hebron, Gaza and Jaffa, have been taken. General Allenby's army is marching north; the King of Hejaz has captured Shobek, the Montreal of the Crusaders, and Kerak, east of the Dead Sea. Northern Syria is still held by Turkish and German forces. But even though they should remain there until the final decision, pressure elsewhere may force evacuation. The people are dissatisfied with Turkish rule and would welcome the establishment of a republic, including the whole territory from the foot of the Amanus Mountains to the border of Egypt. International guarantees and obligations would be desirable. The advantages of such a solution should be carefully weighed against those of a European protectorate. In case the present minority of Jews in Palestine should through unprecedented immigration in the future become a decided majority, a separate Jewish republic might properly be recognized.

Mesopotamia is almost completely lost to Turkey. Bagdad is in the hands of the British; Mosul is the next objective. If a new Arab state is formed in the valley of the two rivers, it will need not only education and representative government, but also financial assistance, preferably of an international character. For some time at least a considerable measure of international control and guidance would seem to be necessary in Kurdistan.

Most of Turkish Armenia has been conquered by Russia during the war; but the present Government has offered to evacuate this territory, as soon as an Armenian militia can be organized sufficient for its defence, on condition that its people be given the right to determine their own status and Armenians in Turkey freedom of immigration into it. Even if the demobilization of the Russian army should temporarily make the strain upon this Armenian militia too heavy, the outcome can scarcely be questioned. The world is deeply interested in the establishment of a united and independent Armenia, and is no more willing than are the Armenians themselves that any part of their ancient kingdom shall be subject against its will to imperial Turkish rule. While the Russian Government naturally hopes that the Armenians may be satisfied with a position as one of the federated states of the great republic, the majority of the sovereign and independent states would probably be ready to recognize an Armenian republic, provided its constitution be such as to prevent it from becoming an ecclesiastical state, its boundaries be equitably drawn, and guarantees of equal rights be given to the large non-Armenian population.

Anatolia, on the other hand, is now the home of the Ottoman Turks. More than two-thirds of its people are of Turkish origin and speech. Their right to live and govern themselves in Asia Minor is indisputable. That right is subject only to the limitations imposed by the law of nations. A division of this country between some of the strong military powers of Europe would be a most serious infraction of the principle of nationality, comparable to the crimes of which the Poles and the Armenians have been the victims. Guarantees must, of course, be given by Turkey to respect the civic rights of Greeks, very numerous in the coast towns, Jews, Circassians, Armenians, and others.

Of Turkey in Europe only a remnant has been saved. Aside from the territory relinquished to Austria-Hungary and Russia, the losses have been due to the creation of independent states. One after another the leading nationalities of the Balkan peninsula have freed themselves from the Turkish yoke. As a rule, a tributary relation with local autonomy has preceded the recognition of sovereignty and independence. By the treaty of Adrianople Greece became a sovereign state in 1830; the Congress of Berlin recognized the full independence of Rumania, Servia, and Montenegro in 1878; the repudiation of Turkish suzerainty by Ferdinand of Bulgaria in 1908 was allowed to stand by the Great Powers; and they created the independent principality of Albania in 1913. The wisdom of substituting independent statehood for Turkish rule in Europe has been justified, in spite of many deplorable errors, by the growth of democracy as well as by the social development in general. A very imperfect, yet often highly effective, international agency like the Concert of the Great Powers has also influenced the political life of these nations, checking religious and racial animosities and preventing imperialistic schemes. The part of Europe still remaining under Turkish rule is practically limited to Constantinople and the province of Adrianople.

It was the ambition of autocratic Russia to gain possession of Constantinople. From Peter I to Nicholas II this always formed a part of her dream of empire. A city of such impregnable strength and strategic position was highly desirable from a military point of view. With the Bosporus and the Dardanelles, Russia would be a Mediterranean Power. Her fleet would control the Ægean. Economically, the acquisition would be invaluable. There would be ice-free ports. One of the most admirable natural harbors in the world, which could be closed at will, would be as welcome to the merchant marine as to the navy. A religious interest also dictated the desire. The patriarchate of Constantinople had a prestige greater than that of Moscow, and could be made more potent than in ancient times. The road would be opened to the holy places in Palestine. A realization of

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these hopes seemed to offer itself by the outbreak of the European war. Then came the revolution, and a democratic Russia renounced all forcible annexations. A commonwealth in which socialistic sentiments so largely prevail naturally cannot look with the same interest as an autocratic Power for strategic points to be seized because of their military value, nor care to carry the nation's flag forward in order to further and protect trade, nor concern itself with the wishes of a hierarchy. The Russian republic has renounced every claim to Constantinople. Unless a counter-revolution should bring back the old régime, with its autocracy and imperialism, which is highly improbable, the Russian people will almost certainly seek to influence the public opinion of the world against the plan of handing over the city to any Power as booty of war.

Bulgaria has also had designs upon the city. It was the dream of Czar Ferdinand to secure an unquestioned imperial title by being crowned in Hagia Sophia. In the first Balkan War in 1912 the goal seemed within reach. This war had something of the character of a crusade. The arms were blessed by the Exarch; the soldiers were inspired by the hope of wresting sanctuaries dear to the Christian from the hands of the infidel, as well as of wreaking vengeance for age-long indignities. But Bulgaria had no rights that other nations could recognize, and her overweening ambition brought on the second Balkan War. The number of Bulgarians in Constantinople and the province is not so large in comparison with the other ethnic elements as to warrant annexation, though the territory is contiguous.

Byzantium was captured by Dorian colonists from Megara in 658 B. C. The rights of the natives, to whom the name apparently goes back, were not considered; the place became a Greek city. It occasionally was in alliance with Athens or Sparta, or belonged to a league of cities, but never formed a part of a Greek nation. Its culture, however, was essentially Greek throughout the Macedonian and Roman periods. When Constantinople became the capital of the Eastern Empire, its population grew more and more cosmopolitan in character, and this tendency has increased under Turkish rule. Since the kingdom of the Hellenes was formed, there has been a desire to incorporate in the new state not only places actually inhabited by Greeks, but also cities and regions once occupied or claimed by their real or putative ancestors. The vast expansion of Greece through the treaty of Bucharest in 1913 naturally fanned the hopes of imperialists, and these have recently been reawakened as a result of the more cordial relations to the Entente Powers. Efforts are being made to influence public opinion in favor of a Greek annexation. But Constantinople is not at present a Greek city in any sense. Of its million and a quarter inhabitants (including the suburbs) less than 175,000 are Greeks.

The suggestion has been made in some circles, anxious to see the Turk expelled from Europe, but otherwise disinterested, that Constantinople and the district around it, after the defeat of the Central Powers, be handed over to France as in some sense the natural nominee of the victorious alliance. It has been maintained that "no nation would more firmly, few so graciously, hold its possession or more scrupulously fulfil the internal and external obligations connected with it." The eminent fitness of France for this task has been pointed out, her toleration of all races and creeds, love of the arts, veneration for the monuments, interest in the sciences, and spiritual greatness as a nation. Like the dreams of empire, this project takes no cognizance of any possible preference of the people affected by the change of sovereignty. Adrianople became capital of the Turkish Empire in 1361, Constantinople succeeded it in 1453. In the course of half a millennium a people has a chance to strike deep roots in the soil. There are at least a million Turks in the territory under consideration. They are naturally attached to the land of their fathers, the capital of their mighty empire, the glorious city on the Golden Horn, with its endless charms, its rich treasures, and its sacred associations. Not willingly, not without resistance, dissatisfaction, and rebellion, can they be expected to yield up what is so precious to them, and accept for themselves and their children a foreign domination. Nor would the hundreds of thousands of Greeks, Jews, Armenians, and Bulgarians, not to speak of other nationalities, who have since 1908 enjoyed, on equal terms with the Turks, the rights of citizenship, be readily reconciled to French rule like that exercised over the natives of Algeria and Tunis.

In his great address to the Senate on January 22, 1917, President Wilson laid down the principle, so clearly in harmony with American sentiment, that people should not be handed over from sovereignty to sovereignty as though they were merchandise. He also expressed his conviction that the general security of the world demands the forming of a society of nations with a well-organized and democratic government. The plans hitherto proposed in regard to Constantinople have made no provision for a plébiscite and contemplated no possible relation of the city to the organization of human society as a whole. It has not occurred to their authors how inconceivable it is that nations sacrificing millions of human lives and billions of property in the hope that the world may thereby be made safe for democracy should be willing to force under an alien government one of the most beautiful and populous cities in Europe. Nor do they seem to have thought of the society of nations as an inevitable reality, a coming political organization with its definite needs, rights, and duties.

Both of these interests should obviously be taken into account. They would be served if Constantinople, the Dardanelles, the Marmora Sea, the Bosporus, the province of Adrianople, and a strip of land on either side of the waterway could be internationalized in a manner that would do justice to all parties concerned. There does not appear to be any weighty objection that can be urged against some such solution of the problem as this. Let there be a stipulation in the coming peace treaty that the territory indicated be ceded to the society of nations on the following conditions, namely: (1) that this be the will of the majority of the inhabitants as expressed by secret ballot; (2) that local self-government so far as all communal affairs are concerned be guaranteed by the society; (3) that the society pledge itself to make this district the home of its government, its parliament, courts, executive, and police; (4) that in the construction of government buildings, and any remodelling for the purposes of the society, due regard be shown for existing property rights, religious interests, and historic monuments; and (5) that a fair compensation be made to Turkey by the society, to be paid during an extended period of years, and used for public improvements.

If this plan were adopted, there would be no violation of the principles of democracy, the best precedents of the past would be followed, and the most effective guarantees for the future would be obtained. No people would be turned over from one sovereignty to another against its will. The

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preference of the population affected would be ascertained by a vote, as was recently done in the case of the Danish West Indies. Those nations that now form the alliance of Central Powers would have an equitable share of representation in the international parliament. Freed from the burdens imposed by her rôle as a world Power, and with added resources in the reconstruction period, Turkey would have a means of relief from the poverty, desperate finance, and irrational system of taxation that have been her curse. Compensation for a relinquished suzerainty is not a novelty; its fairness has been recognized by our own nation in regard to the Philippines as well as in the purchases of Louisiana, Alaska, and the Danish West Indies. Accountability for its use would prevent diversion for military purposes. Instead of national humiliation and resentment, there would be the pride of having furnished the world with a glorious capital without loss of self-respect, prestige, or influence. Instead of envy, jealousy, and ambition, there would be, on the part of the neighbors, satisfaction with their nearness and free access to the centre of the world's activities. There would be a guarantee of stability for the new international institutions in the very possession of a capital and a federal district. With the bridge across the Bosporus under the control of the society of nations, the Berlin-Bagdad railroad would be a blessing, and not a menace, to mankind.

The issues of the war still lie in the lap of the gods. To some minds it may seem premature to discuss the question of how to dispose of Turkey in Europe as things are at present. It looks like counting the chickens before they are hatched. But in these days the world is learning by sad experience the necessity of carefully counting beforehand the chickens that may be hatched. It is well to remember that, while we are not actually at war with Turkey, the time will come when a treaty of peace must be drawn up, and that as participants in the war we shall have some part in drafting it and some responsibility for its final form. America has much at stake in Turkey, and the future of Constantinople, Armenia, and Syria concerns us deeply.

Not the least of the advantages the proposed plan offers is that it is not dependent on the changing fortunes of war. It is perfectly evident that actual military occupation will not in itself be recognized as decisive, all mooted questions will not be settled, and the condition of the world is not going to be fixed for all time by the next peace treaty. Upon some things the Entente Powers will absolutely insist; on other matters a compromise may be made. A satisfactory solution of the Armenian and Syrian questions may render it impossible, or inadvisable, to touch the status of Constantinople. But some steps are likely to be taken towards the organizing of a society of nations. This society will necessarily have some form of government. It should be possible to have at least the beginnings of an international parliament. Through it the nations may still negotiate with Turkey, for the cession, on equitable terms, of the district so suitable to their needs. Beautiful for situation, conveniently located at the meeting-point of two continents, glorious even in its present state of humiliation, the mighty city, whose fate seems so mysteriously bound up with that of humanity, may yet become, in a deeper sense than ever Arab poet dreamed of, the *Umm' al dunya*, "the mother of the world," the great cosmopolis where the legislators of the race shall hold their sessions, enacting international law and administering the common concerns of the nations, in the midst of a free and self-governing people.

Pasquale Villari

By WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER

NEWS comes from Italy of the death of Villari, the historian whose biographies of Savonarola and of Machiavelli have been read throughout the world for over fifty years, and who has represented both at home and abroad the intellectual élite of his country for two generations. Other modern Italians have shone with a more meteoric splendor than he, but they have come and gone, while he has continued to shed an unsensational and steady light. Carducci, De Amicis, Fogazzaro, and D'Annunzio achieved great reputation, and all but the last have died during the long span of Villari's activity. When we remember that he was born before the Revolution of July, and died only a few weeks ago, we must regard him as the patriarch among historians.

Pasquale Villari was born at Naples, October 3, 1827. He attended the University of Naples, and apparently planned to fit himself for the profession of lawyer. Under the Bourbon rule of the time, which Gladstone not long afterward described as the negation of God directed into a system of government, higher education in Naples was at a very low level. But in the University there were two or three professors of real ability, chief among them being Francesco De Sanctis. He lectured on literature, literary theory, and criticism, was himself a critic of original discernment and power, and, above all, was one of those rare teachers who have the God-given faculty of forming the character as well as developing the mind of their pupils. It was a time when Liberal ideals were beginning to glide into the hearts of young men of promise, and Villari was among the youths stirred by them. He was sufficiently implicated in the Revolution of 1848, which forced the despicable Bourbon King, Bomba, to grant a Constitution, for his future to be compromised. When the Revolution fell, Bomba repudiated the Constitution and punished by death or imprisonment the leaders of the Liberal party. Even so inconspicuous a youth as Villari fled for his life and took refuge in Florence. There, under the genteel but forsworn Austrian Grand Duke, even conspirators were allowed to live unmolested if they held their tongues.

Villari supported himself by giving private lessons in Italian to foreigners, devoting his spare time to vigorous historical study and investigation. He was the first Italian of note who followed what used to be regarded as the "German method" of historical research; a method which, however, since it seems to have been employed by the best ancient historians who existed long before even the Huns had plundered their way from Asia into Europe, can hardly be regarded as a German monopoly. Where Villari learned this method I do not know; he did not study in Germany, nor does it appear that any German professor taught him in Florence. But he dug in that matchless historical treasure-house, the Florentine archives, and having fresh eyes, an unusual scent for the important, and a penetrating vision for material, he unearthed much that had been left buried or neglected even about the great periods in Florentine history. The first fruits of his researches appeared in 1859 in the first volume of his "History of Savonarola and His Times." Two years later he completed the work by publishing the second volume. The book at once took its place as the best on its subject. Readers of "Romola" will re-

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member that George Eliot, writing her novel at that time, refers to it, and it would be easy to trace how much she drew from it in composing her own portrait of Savonarola. Villari adopted the practice of inserting into his text many of Savonarola's own words, thereby forming a mosaic and giving to it an effect of authenticity—a practice which our own Mr. Rhodes has used with such marked success in his works.

Meanwhile, Villari filled the chair of history at the University of Pisa, and as, after 1859, central and northern Italy (except Venetia) were united and free, he was thenceforth unhindered in his utterances on politics. As Florence lacked a university, some influential men founded there the Institute of Higher Studies, in which Villari became professor of history. He was appointed secretary of what would correspond to our National Bureau of Education, and his influence was considerable in the work of remodelling the general educational system of the new Kingdom of Italy. He also took zealous, not to say combative, interest in many of the political questions of the day, served several terms in the Chamber of Deputies, and throughout his life was a publicist both copious and cogent. The modern Italian professors, especially of history, like the French, have never looked upon it as their ideal to sit aloof from the present, in order to keep unspotted their reputation for impartiality towards the controversies of the past; quite the opposite, they seemed to act instinctively on the theory that the better a man knows the past the better qualified he ought to be to discuss the vital issues of the present. And so we find Villari often involved in heated discussions. A Southerner by birth and early training, the fact that he was a Florentine through all his mature life and in the substance of his intellectual work never rubbed out his sympathy for the South. Some of his most appealing pamphlets called attention to the shocking conditions in Naples and Sicily, and he strove to lighten the burdens there by improving not only education, but agriculture and the system of land tenure. The last time I heard him speak, some ten years ago, he warned Italy, North as well as South, against the great peril she ran from the emigration of her peasants. All the money they send back, he said impressively, to their families at home, will never compensate Italy for the loss of her young men, the man-power of the nation and the hope of her future. He began his polemics early in the sixties and continued them until within a few years of his death. His "Lettere Meridionale" on the social question in the South are still remembered, and it is worth remarking that Sidney Sonnino, the weightiest of contemporary Italian statesmen, published among his earliest political monographs one on "The Peasants in Sicily" (I Contadini in Sicilia, 1877), a work in which Villari gave him helpful encouragement.

In 1884 King Humbert made Villari a Senator. In Italy, Senators hold office for life, a position which relieves them from the vicissitudes of party fluctuations, but does not necessarily prevent them from entering into the heats of party quarrels. Certainly Pasquale Villari never allowed his Senatorial chair to be a post of silence; nor could any chair which he occupied be a post of obscurity. Marquis di Rudini made him Minister of Public Instruction, a position which seemed to offer a great opportunity to Villari's talents and knowledge, but he somewhat disappointed the friends who expected most of him; illustrating in this the great gulf which lies between the thinker, who can see plainly in his study what ought to be done, and the executive, who can manipulate men and things to accomplish the desired ends. It must also be said that Villari's term as Minister came at a crisis of international political disorder and of external uncertainty and menace which were quite unfavorable to the calmness required for devising educational reforms.

Amid all his other activities, however, that of historian was his permanent vocation. In 1877 he published the first of a three-volume biography of Niccolo Machiavelli, a companion piece to his Savonarola, and a completion of the large canvas on which he drew the history of the Medicean epoch. He published also studies on the Barbarian Invasion of Italy and on the First Two Centuries of Florentine History, works less compacted and unified than his biographies, but containing the latest information at the time, derived from his investigation of the sources. To enumerate even the chief topics into which his fugitive essays may be classified would be superfluous. He contributed articles and reviews of all sorts to the *Nuova Antologia*. He wrote essays on Dante and Dante subjects; he discussed whether history is a science or an art; he criticised with equal zest the latest book on Cavour or on Leopardi. He had, in a word, the facility of the journalist and the versatility of the typical Italian of great talent.

I find it somewhat difficult to state Villari's position as an historian. As an essayist and reviewer his work was eminently fugitive, as such work must almost always be. As the book and the issue of the year are generally forgotten, or are put into that limbo where we expect posterity to spend its time, so what is written about them fades away also; but Villari's fugitive pieces will be referred to by persons who wish to know how their subject impressed one of the keenest Italian minds of the time. His position as an historian, like that of George Bancroft in this country, became legendary long before he died. Just as Bancroft first published much original material on American history, so Villari is a pioneer in many details of the lives of Savonarola and Machiavelli. It is sixty years since he printed the first and over forty since he printed the second, and they still remain standards. You cannot hope to know either of those great men without reading Villari's biographies of them. I do not feel, however, that they are in the true sense final, for they lack, at least to my taste, the living glow, the simplification of complex episodes, and the intimacy, charm, and dignity of expression without which no history or biography can be final. *Forma vita est:* unless any work of art has a *living* form, it has not life.

Professor Villari's biographies were translated into many languages. For half a century he welcomed to his home at Florence visitors from all over the world; and one should not forget to record how much his English wife, Miss Linda White, contributed by the translation of his books into English and by her English connections to the dissemination of his influence.

Villari died in Rome on December 7, 1917, having lived to see the invasion of his beloved Italy by the hordes of modern barbarians. He kept his faculties to the last. In person he was a little man, hardly above five feet tall, with a keen intellectual face, which had the quality of old ivory. He never lost his gift of acute and definite speech, and Italians remarked that his three-score years of residence in Florence never sufficed to cancel a certain Neapolitanism in his speech and in the vivacity of his gestures.

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High Seas

By T. J. MURRAY

HIGH Seas; the bill of lading's words grow dim,
And dingy shipping office swiftly fades;
He sees the breakers tumbling where the rim
Absorbs the fading hulls as daylight shades.

His pulse beats to the surge's wild unrest,
Far from the harbor gate's confining lines;
While blinding rains upon the sea's white breast
Drive swift across his soul like drenching wines.

Cravings for ocean floors stir in his veins;
The high seas call him as, with all at stake,
His blood before him swept the rolling lanes,
And raked the main with Frobisher and Drake.

Correspondence

Less and Less

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: To the rigors of a heatless Monday, a meatless Tuesday, a wheatless Wednesday, and a porkless Saturday, must we add a *Nation*-less Thursday?

Having spent the winter in Washington, I thought I knew the last word in discomfort and poor service of every sort; but I could, at least, always get my *Nation* at the corner news-stand. Not so in New York. Last week I asked for it at seven subway stands, nine street stands, and four hotels before I found it. Why is this? In these sad days, it seems as if one is entitled to what aid and comfort his favorite weekly affords without quite such a search for it.

TRAVELLER

New York, February 12

[The newsdealers' strike played havoc with our distribution.—MANAGING EDITOR.]

Soldiers' Reading

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In his article upon that vital subject, "What the Soldiers Read," Burton E. Stevenson has omitted one matter of prime importance, English poetry. We constantly hear it said that "our boys care much for verse," and that many who never read verse heretofore are reading and delight in it. Given, as by nature the average young man is, a fair share of wit, sympathy, and love of beauty, it follows that English poetry of the right sort placed within reach will be "devoured" in much the same way that sweets will be.

The two great forces which militate against this much-to-be-desired consummation are those institutions of higher learning which have sought to educate the young in poetry (the college has sinned in this far more than the high school), and that unhappy social condition which has done a lamentable deal to make poetry and "sissyism" thought of as synonymous. I have tried the experiment of sending "The Golden Treasury" into camps. I should be glad to know how many of "our boys" and soldiers and sailors have it, or a similar book, if, by the blessing of heaven such exists, put in their way—not, God forbid, thrust upon them. Permit me to offer a single instance, by way of evidence, from the letter of an average young seaman training at the Great Lakes Naval Station: "I've been enjoying that 'Golden Treasury.' I like it so much that I put it where any one can get it in the Measle Barracks."

Will not some of the readers of this letter post their "extra copy" of the "Golden Treasury" to one of the camps or places where soldiers and sailors are congregated? Sent to your local library, the book will be forwarded at once.

ALFRED M. BROOKS

Bloomington, Ind., February 11

Secret Treaties

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It may be that for most of the gentlemen whose opinions the *Nation* desired in relation to the secret treaties the revelation of the latter is rather depressing, but there can be no doubt that to many others, some of whom, like myself, have been regular readers of your paper for nearly half a century, the exhibition of what seems to us a visionary ignoring of the actualities of life by so many "representative university men" is not only depressing, but rather —provoking, I will say. Most heartily do we endorse the views of A. G. Keller among your correspondents. There can be no question that at the time of the outbreak of the present world conflict the overwhelming predominance of public thought in Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States was passionately against war. Is it possible that any representative university man in his heart believes that the individual French, Italian, English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish men who composed the governments and acted for their respective peoples in entering a conflict which they knew would not only fill their lands with mourning for the maimed and the dead, but would subject themselves to the fearful burden of overwhelming debt and crushing taxation continued indefinitely—is it possible that he *honestly* believes that these men were "engrossed with plans for annexations, domination of subject peoples, and extensions of political spheres of influence"? Without warning, from over the borders of the Central Empires into helpless Belgium, unprepared France, and supplicatory Servia had poured the armed and prepared millions of the Central Empires, shouting their threats of frightfulness, too well carried out, and contempt for the rights of others whether given by laws of God or treaties of men. If France, the British Empire, the British colonies, and Russia were crushed successively, like the broken sticks of the unbound fagot, how long, with the German Empire in control of Canada and Mexico, could your ideal of our country as an unmilitary land be maintained? The duty of saving the world for democracy is insignificant when compared with that of saving mankind from Prussianism. Is it the time to dream dreams of what the world ought to do if all men could be persuaded to be just, and to sigh over secret treaties because they were silent as to the principle of nationality? Prussia has already made vassals of Bavaria and Austria-Hungary, has crushed four small states and broken Russia to pieces. Polish, Finnish, Rumanian, and Ukrainian conscripts may be material helps in her next war of "defence" against some other ring

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of foes who she feels "would end by choking her life out." Are we at such a time to sympathize with idealists who express "devout thankfulness for the Russian revolution" which has provided for the return to the Kaiser's control of one million Teutonic prisoners to join those who give battle to our sons and brothers? Thank God, thousands of university men in America are of different mould, and are offering their lives, as over the sea other thousands have already given theirs, with the fervor of the men who fought with the sword of the Lord and of Gideon; and life-long pacifists like myself have sent their sons to the holy war, sorrowing chiefly that we were not allowed to do so two years sooner.

W. W. MONTGOMERY

Radnor, Pa., February 14

International Free Trade League

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Readers of the *Nation* who favor an *active* campaign for the total abolition of tariff barriers between nations as a condition of permanent peace are invited to join the new International Free Trade League. The League is being organized to conduct the most active campaign possible to enlighten public opinion and combat the proposals of protectionists by issuing a periodical as often as funds allow, and circulating pamphlets, etc. The membership already includes M. Henri Lambert and Senator La Fontaine of Belgium, several Canadians, and such American free traders as Messrs. Fiske Warren, David Starr Jordan, and Samuel Milliken. Contributions will be welcomed by the organizing secretary; and all who join by sending one dollar before March 31 will have an equal voice in the election of officers. Temporary headquarters are 38 St. Botolph Street, Boston.

KENNETH B. ELLIMAN
Organizing Secretary

Boston, February 13

War Ideals

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have just read with pain the review entitled "The Princeton Offensive," in your issue of January 10. I have always denied with the utmost earnestness that the United States has gone into this war for the sake of material gains, and, believing that I knew my country's heart, I have asserted roundly that our entry into the struggle had been compelled solely by devotion to honorable ideals. In spite of Princeton, my faith is not yet shaken, or at most only a little at the edges. One day last summer at the Commercial Club of San Francisco I heard an address on the issues of the war. The three hundred men there present represented completely the financial and mercantile life of the Pacific Coast, where we are, I presume, quite as much concerned with the things of this world as are our fellow-citizens elsewhere. It was when the speaker referred to the wrongs done Belgium, and called for reparation, restoration, and restitution that the thunder of applause broke. Against the New Jersey members of my own profession I put as an offset these money-grubbers of California.

TRACY R. KELLEY

Berkeley, Cal., February 2

BOOKS

Interpretations of Plato

Platonism. By Paul Elmer More. Princeton: University Press. $1.75 net. 1917.

THE close historic interpretation of Plato's thought is the task of critical and philosophical scholarship. But the Platonic writings belong preëminently to the literature of power, influence, and suggestion. And misapprehensions or partial interpretations of Plato's meaning count for more in the history of humanity than a definitively true interpretation ever will, supposing it could be ascertained or promulgated to an unheeding world. The spell of his genius will always maintain the apostolic succession of disciples, students, and readers, perhaps never larger than to-day, when duplicate copies of Jowett's translation occupy the reference shelves of many departments in every great university library. And so the Platonism of any significant mind, of any interpreter who counts, will always be of interest.

Mr. More is for America at least one of the few critics who do count. His credentials, the nine volumes of Shelburne essays, cover a larger range of subjects competently treated than any other living American critic can exhibit. We turn to his interpretation of Plato with something of the same interest with which a few years ago we took up Emile Faguet's "Pour Qu'on Lise Platon." Both works are in the good sense of the word amateur performances, and both are more sane and more illuminating than the majority of the professional products turned out from the German philological mill. Both emphasize the predominant moral purpose of Plato. But here the parallel ends. Faguet replaces Plato in his historic and political environment and sets forth his "reaction" to and against the spirit of his age. Mr. More, in this volume at least, treats Plato almost as a detached spirit, a supreme moral and religious teacher making his appeal to kindred souls across the ages. His concrete relation to his time and his teachers is for Mr. More at present summed up in the development of what he calls the Platonic Quest out of the Socratic Quest. Mr. More justly warns us against the erroneous extremes of Gomperz, who denies that Socrates was a moral teacher at all, and of Professor Burnet, who attributes to him almost the entire Platonic philosophy. But Mr. More himself cannot dispense with an historic Socrates. He needs a real Socrates as the starting point of the evolution of Plato. He finds him in the biographical parts of the Apology, Crito and Phaedo, and meets the demand for proof with the cry, "It is easier to believe in the power of Nature to create such a character than in the ability of an author to imagine it." This historic Socrates, he thinks, held three "theses"—a far-reaching skepticism, which, however, was not a Pyrrhonic drifting, a spiritual affirmation or intuition of the truth that sin is the greatest of evils, and a rationalistic utilitarian opinion that all sin is ignorance. To Plato alone, he says, was it given to combine these three theses in a system of thought that proceeds from the Socratic Quest through the Platonic Quest to the Socratic Paradox.

The Socratic Quest is the rationalizing identification of virtue and knowledge through the utilitarian or hedonistic calculus in the minor dialogues and the Protagoras. Mr.

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More assumes that this is a real quest, and that Plato is feeling his way. He makes no attempt to answer the specific arguments which indicate that the Socratic ignorance of these dialogues is for Plato dramatic. The innocent edifying sentence at the close of the Charmides that "you will be happier as you are more temperate" he thinks is only not a distinct emergence of the Platonic repudiation of hedonism and identification of virtue and happiness, because the Protagoras and Gorgias that follow represent Plato as still seeking. This is the old method of the type of Platonic philology which substitutes the combination of keynote sentences for a flexible literary and philosophic analysis of the entire course of the thought. The whole of the Protagoras and the Gorgias up to a certain passage, Mr. More holds, proceed on the moral plane of the hedonistic calculus. Then "Callicles is decent enough to admit that some pleasures are in themselves better than others."

"It is at this point that Socrates utters his ironically exultant cry, 'Joy! Joy!'—as it were a prophetic note of triumph over the hosts of sophistry. That is one of the great moments of philosophy, the moment when we pass from the Socratic Quest to the Platonic Quest; and I never read the exclamation put into the mouth of Socrates but I think of the shout of Achilles when he came from his tent and stood by the trench with the divine splendor radiating about him. The real battle was yet to come, but there was terror in the walls of Troy."—This is quite fantastic. Instead of "Joy! Joy"! Jowett renders, "Alas, Callicles, how unfair you are." And any one who will examine the context even in translation will see that Jowett must be substantially right. Socrates is surprised or ironically troubled that Callicles shifts his ground without warning in the debate and now pronounces self-evident what he before put Socrates to great trouble to prove. Mr. More was misled by Liddell and Scott, who put this particular *iou* into the wrong pigeon-hole. But the essential error lies deeper. It consists in taking too seriously the dialectical word fence of the Gorgias which Plato intentionally keeps on the level of the debate with Thrasymachus in the first book of the Republic. Socrates exerts as much skill as is required to reduce to self-contradiction Callicles's crude literal identification of pleasure and good. Plato's serious reasons for the rejection of hedonism are indicated elsewhere in the eloquent and ironical longer discourses of Socrates, the parable of the two casks and the contrast of the "cormorant" with the ascetic life. That this is Plato's real reason appears from its identity with the main argument of the Philebus and the ninth book of the Republic. Mere sensuous pleasure is inherently a negative thing, inevitably purchased at the price of pain. Though many readers miss this, I do not see how it could escape a student of Schopenhauer and of Indian thought.

I am sorry that Mr. More's construction of a system and an evolution of Plato's thought forces me into this attitude of dissent. For I cordially accept his leading idea of the intensity of Plato's moral faith and the value of Plato's expression of it for the spiritual life of to-day. As I understand him, Mr. More believes with Emerson, George Eliot, Matthew Arnold, Lord Morley, and perhaps Mr. Howells, and against the new lights of cosmopolitan fiction and drama, that the abandonment of old theological formulas need not raise any doubts of the absolute validity of what Emerson's old-fashioned diction called the sovereignty of the moral sentiment, the absolute truth of what Arnold affirmed to be a fact of experience that righteousness is verifiably happiness and salvation. Mr. More may feel an imperfect sympathy for some of the writers I have named. But they all agree in the fundamental conviction that no modern philosophy of relativity can do away with the right and the necessity of affirming as a verifiable experience and an inexpugnable faith this last and irreducible dogma. That was Plato's faith, too, and we may say of him what Arnold says of Israel, that his expression of it is such as to renew our own trust and confidence in seasons of doubt or despair and the apparent triumph of the cynic and the mocker.

But why encumber this faith with the vocabulary of mysticism and irrationality? Plato does not. He marks very clearly for attentive readers the line between his scientific affirmations and his religious symbolisms. With rare and dramatically justifiable exceptions he does not employ an equivocal philosophical terminology to confound the one with the other. He does not need any equivalent for the mischievous modern word "intuition," for he makes no serious use of the idea. Neither is there any passage in his writings which on a sound literary interpretation justifies the attribution to him of the distinction between the reason and the understanding, even under the concealing phrase of the lower and the higher reason. Why does Mr. More insist on employing this vocabulary, and reading into Plato the associations that it brings in its train? I cannot suppose that he is himself in sympathy with mystical or irrational Platonism. On the contrary, in his historical appreciations he is a far severer judge than I would be of Neo-Platonism, Romanticism, and all forms of sentimentalism. I can only suppose that he has fallen into this language from the difficulty of finding any other adequate expression of the "adamantine" faith which he shares with Plato.

Whether in jest or in earnest we must add that Mr. More sometimes wantonly provokes the Nemesis that in the experience of the present critic always awaits those who discover "contradictions" in Plato. He finds such a self-contradiction in Plato's "assimilation of the reason . . . to the desires" in Republic, 411C ff. If he will restudy the entire page, he will find that he has mistaken its meaning. Plato does not there say that "reason and the concupiscent faculty, taken together, as opposed to the thymos, have their discipline in music, whereas the thymos is fortified by gymnastic." He says precisely what we expect him to say, that both music and gymnastic in their excess, defect, or due moderation modify the reason and the thymos. Our guess is that what misled Mr. More is the sentence which Jowett equivocally translates "his senses not being purged of their mists."

But, as I said in the beginning, the specialist must concede that, pragmatically and humanly speaking, the correct interpretation of Plato is of less importance to a busy world than is his infinite suggestiveness. To a critic of Mr. More's wide range of reading the text of Plato suggests many interesting reflections and parallels which he illuminates in the dignified, thoughtful, and lucid style which has won him his high position of authority in American criticism. A few among many are the comparison with Cartesianism, with Locke and Edwards on the will, the parallels and quotations from the correspondence of John Norris and Henry More, and the unsympathetic but keen estimates of the "pseudo-Platonists," Blake and Shelley. Mr. More's book is one to be reckoned with, and we have dealt with it not exhaustively, of course, but seriously and we hope not unfairly.

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Under Ordeal

Just Outside. By Stacy Aumonier. New York: The Century Company.

The Tree of Heaven. By May Sinclair. New York: The Macmillan Company.

ONE must own that, in spite of the war, there continues to be some apparent basis for Mrs. Gerould's recent whimsical representation of British twentieth-century fiction as a sort of limited company turning out a standardized product. Current British novelists, she complains, all write in the same way and about the same thing, so that the name on a title-page has become a matter of idle interest. There are different varieties of the product, and we have a general notion about where each of them is likely to come from, but there is no certainty: at any moment Mr. Wells may choose to divert himself by turning out an article of the Bennett brand, or vice versa. As for the younger story-tellers, Messrs. Cannan, Mackenzie, Walpole, Beresford, et al., you cannot tell their work apart, except by the label. . . . All this rather strains the point, but a point there is. Here, for example, is the "Just Outside" of Stacy Aumonier. It is clever, it has human interest, its workmanship is excellent—and it suggests twenty other recent novels by half as many novelists. With how few changes of matter or manner it might appear to be the work of St. John Ervine, or Cameron Mackenzie, or J. D. Beresford. Mr. Beresford's it might have been with the least bit freer handling of sex. It was in "Jacob Stahl" that he took the standard hero of his contemporaries (who has never been called a "hero," of course), brought him down in the world half a peg, deprived him of his Oxford accent, stiffened his spine a trifle, and turned him loose in London to make his own way as best he might. Jacob was delightful because there was actually something solid about him; he was neither popinjay nor parrot, and for moral paltriness lurking under "good form," he appeared to substitute an essential and unpretentious decency in matters of drink, sex, and so on. He lapsed from the law, but not filthily. There is a touch of this saving grace about the Arthur Gaffyn of "Just Outside." He is ineffectual enough, a groping fellow, but honestly desirous of strength and effectiveness. Like Jacob Stahl (and Mr. Beresford's later echo of him, the youth of "Housemates"), young Gaffyn serves an apprenticeship as draughtsman in a London office, and later gives up his designing in order to write. In point of character, Mr. Beresford's Dickie Lynneker would be an even closer analogue. Both are nonconformists, both have brilliant openings for "success," and turn away from them, disgusted by the crookedness and selfishness of the successful world, to "play the game" according to their own lights. Both, at their best, wish to count for something in service and effectiveness in the "big game," as Gaffyn calls it. But to the end of our acquaintance with him, Gaffyn's achievement has hardly passed the negative stage. He has been man enough to despise the false glitter of his success as author of a popular play, and he has been man enough to spare the girl who is ready to risk everything for his happiness. But he has not been man enough to find and follow a straight path forward to a distinguishable end. When, already in middle age, he gives an account of himself to the Pa Leffbury who has been his teacher and mentor during his apprentice days, it has to be as a very minor prophet and apostle of the new age—as writer for the "Resurgent," and active member of a society for finding and helping genius among the children of the slums. Leffbury, a failure in the eyes of the world, is the man of the two, *integer vitæ*. He has nearly caused the world to share his dream of an art which should once again be an ingredient and not an ornament of life, of an industrialism which should have the dignity of the ancient guilds. . . . He fails because society is too vulgar and venal to be accessible to noble ideas, but his path remains to him; his own part in the service of beauty by way of honest workmanship. He is at peace with himself, if not with that civilization which he sees speeding towards ruin. He has his prophetic moment. He, who is no longer young, sees that the hope of the world lies in youth, which "works with love." The work of the old, work without love, is "abortive labor," and leads to madness. "Man cannot work without love. But these chartered libertines of righteousness, these old men whispering in their secret chambers and pulling the wires, are simply carrying bricks from one end of the yard to the other and back again. One day they will go mad, and then they will drive the young before them like cattle to the slaughter."

If "Just Outside" conforms pretty closely to a recognized British model of before-the-war fiction, "The Tree of Heaven" is a not less easily recognizable example of a later type. It is a story to be ranked with the "Mr. Britling Sees It Through" of H. G. Wells, and the "Shifting Winds" of St. John Ervine, as an interpretation of the war coming home to England. Here is yet another picture of the Britain that, prosperous and mighty among nations, seemed to be developing so many elements of unrest and of discord within her own borders. Industrial war, class war, sex war, civil war, were all in the making, and the breaking-point seemed miraculously but hopelessly postponed from day to day. Disintegrating moral forces were at work, luxury and recklessness among the aristocracy, lawlessness among women under the name of Woman, hatred between employer and employed, between race and race; not least perilous, an obstinate complacency and self-sufficiency on the part of the comfortable upper middle class. Of this class and of this mood are the Harrisons of Miss Sinclair's story. Harrison senior is chief partner in an eminently "sound" business in the City. He is not at all the Victorian paterfamilias, but a gentleman of good taste, good sense, and good humor. He has a charming wife, healthy children, and a delightful place at Hampstead: a family, one might say, that deserves its serene and comfortable lot. The man takes it as a matter of course; the woman, more sensitive, feels the spirit of change in the air, and, resenting it, clings to that sheltered family existence of which the "tree of Heaven" in her beloved garden is the symbol. But change intrudes; her children are of the new time, and its strange unrest has scattered her brood even before the dreadful visitation of the War reaches quiet Hampstead. Nicky flouts the social code by choosing to work with his hands and by marrying another man's discarded and unrepentant mistress. Dorothy dabbles in militancy. Michael is a morbid embodiment of twentieth-century individualism, scorning "the crowd," disclaiming patriotism, bent upon "fulfilling himself" without the least notion of how to go at it. Upon all this tiny chaos of the family life, which so represents England, the War descends. It wrenches the elder Harrisons from their last hold upon the idea of an isolated happiness. It seizes upon the joyful Nicky and the reluctant Michael and makes of them both alike, in the end, willing sacrifices for England and human-

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ity. There is as much of beauty as of sadness in our final glimpse of the Harrisons, at that moment when John, the baby of the family, passes through the garden in his newly donned khaki to the car where his silent father sits, ready to take him on the first stage of that journey from which he is likely never to return. So much, at least, the dread ordeal through which our world passes may be rightly destroying: the sterile individualism of the Arthur Gaffyns and Michael Harrisons as well as the selfish solidarity of the family which seeks to be safe and complete within itself. This book succeeds where "The Belfry" failed. That was a story of great cleverness, but it was essentially artificial; it brought in the War as a bit of machinery, useful in the manufacture of a false romantic conclusion. "The Tree of Heaven" is a work of imagination, a powerful interpretation of England in peace and at war.

The Bolshevist View of the War

The Bolsheviki and World Peace. By Leon Trotzky. With an Introduction by Lincoln Steffens. New York: Boni & Liveright. Price $1.50.

A *SUCCES de curiosité* at least would seem assured to a book by Trotzky appearing at the moment when he is occupying the centre of the world stage. Although it was written soon after the outbreak of the war, and although its title is a catch-penny misnomer, this little work deserves serious attention. It is a discussion, on Marxian principles, of the relation of the war to international Socialism by the accredited spokesman of Revolution.

Trotzky opens with a critique of the endeavors of the Hungarian Socialists to represent the war as one against Russian Czarism. "Laughter turns away wrath," is his comment. As between Austria-Hungary and Servia, he concludes, the petty intrigues of Balkan dynasties hid their political adventures behind the mask of national unity, and international Socialists had no call either to defend them or to lash themselves "into a state of moral indignation because a fanatic young Serb responded to the cowardly, criminal, and wily national politics of the Vienna and Budapest Government authorities with a bloody assassination."

Once war was begun, Socialists could not doubt, says Trotzky, that social progress in southeastern Europe would be much more seriously retarded by a Hungarian than by a Servian victory; for one of the chief obstacles to progress, along with Russian Czarism and German militarism, has been the Hapsburg state. The solution of the Balkan question and the Austro-Hungarian question, which are indissolubly connected, "is reserved for the European Revolution." But it behooves the Revolution to have its programme, which must be the democratic federation of the Danube and Balkan nations.

Events have rendered Trotzky's discussion of "the war against Czarism" more obsolete than this consideration of Austria-Hungary; yet it is of special interest for the light that it throws on his views. Russia, he says, is not, like Austria-Hungary, identical with its dynastic state. "Whatever may be the fate of various parts of present Russia—Russian Poland, Finland, the Ukraine, or Bessarabia —European Russia will not cease to exist as the national territory of a many-millioned race that has made notable conquests along the line of cultural development during the last quarter-century." The Japanese war did not cause but merely hastened the outbreak of the Revolution (of 1905), but in so doing it weakened it; revolution has no real interest in war. Russia's extraordinary industrial development during 1912-1914 once for all pulled the country out of its state of counter-revolutionary depression, and a movement set in based on a far broader social foundation and developed in a far more conscious and systematic manner than that of 1902-5.

If a catastrophic Russian defeat should bring a quicker outbreak of the Revolution, it would be at the cost of its inner weakness; this would mean "unlimited mastery of German militarism in all Europe" and the subserviency for years to come of the German proletariat. "The German working class would feed itself, materially and spiritually, on the crumbs from the table of victorious imperialism while the cause of the Social Revolution would have received a mortal blow. That in such circumstances a Russian Revolution, even if temporarily successful, would be an historical miscarriage, needs no further proof." How would Trotzky now comment upon these words in view of all that has since occurred?

Several chapters are given up to the question of why German Social Democracy failed to maintain its international attitude when the war came. *Vorwärts*, indeed, did so at first. With a bitterness that no nationalist could surpass, Trotzky asks, "What happened in those three weeks to cause the *Vorwärts* to repudiate its original standpoint? What happened? Nothing of importance. The German armies strangled neutral Belgium, destroyed Louvain, the inhabitants of which had been so criminally audacious as to fire at the armed invaders when they themselves wore no helmets and waving feathers."

Trotzky maintains that Germany is waging not a defensive war against the menace of Russia, but an imperialistic and acquisitive war against England and France. But for Socialists, he declares, the question should not be whether a war can claim to be a war of defence, for any war can be so handled as to appear defensive in character. The question for them should be, what will be its actual effect on working-class forces? When once fighting begins, "the Government with its army is elevated to the position of the one power that can protect and save its people." In Germany the conservative groups took advantage of this to unite the masses around the army and the Government. The Social Democracy, on the other side, "instead of arming these masses with the weapons of criticism and distrust," hastened the people along this road. Opposition at the time of mobilization, however, is all but impossible. It faces a powerful and active mechanism solidly supported by middle-class opinion, and in addition the moment brings into activity millions of non-socialized workers who in time of peace play no political part—farm laborers and small farmers, vagabonds and ne'er-do-weels, and, at the other end, skilled workers. All are dragged out of their apathy and filled with confused hopes of a change for the better. In a revolution these elements are drawn into the revolutionary current, but war links them with the Government and the army.

But if the Socialists could not have obstructed the war at its onset, they could, by condemning it and refusing to vote either confidence or credits, at least have preserved the international organization of Socialism intact, however much weakened for the moment. That this was not done in the various countries can be explained only on the basis of "the historical conditions of an entire epoch." Inter-

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preting from his point of view the history of Europe since 1848, Trotzky undertakes to show how in all countries, beginning with England, Socialist policies took on an opportunist character, which involved the ultimate breakdown of Socialist internationalism as organized before the war. In Germany, especially, energy went into building up a great party. Furthermore, Trotzky accuses the German Socialists, and not them alone, of finding their interest in the efforts of imperialist statesmen to secure world markets and expand production. Under such conditions, he holds, the only possibility of opposing imperialism lay in a policy of social revolution, and he has undertaken to explain why this development was historically excluded. "It was clear," he says, "to every thinking Socialist that the only way the proletariat could be made to pass from opportunism to Revolution was not by agitation, but by an historical upheaval." The pioneers of Socialism never thought that it would so long remain in the preparatory school. History has now precipitated the terrible experiment.

In the concluding chapter Trotzky is looking forward. The present war has proved, he says, that those were right who maintained that industrialization is favorable to military efficiency. In all the countries drawn into the war the colossal energy of the working class has ranged itself under the banner of the Idea, but this Idea "is the Idea of war-crafty nationalism, the deadly enemy of the true interests of the workers." The ruling class have been strong enough to force their idea upon the proletariat, who—although knowing what they were doing—"put their intelligence, their enthusiasm, and their courage at the service of their class foes. In this fact is sealed the terrible defeat of Socialism. But it also opens up all possibilities for a final victory of Socialism."

The period before the war was so dull and reactionary that it did not allow the Social Democracy the opportunity to give to the proletariat tasks that called forth their whole spirit of sacrifice. Imperialism found such a task in a war of national defence. The worker was "taught to place the aims of society above happiness at home and even life itself." But the state has also become dependent upon him; he is flattered and toadied to. This school of war is likewise "forming a new human type." The rules of bourgeois society—its laws, its morality, its religion—are defied by war necessity. This will rouse the workers from the hypnosis of legality which permeated their thinking, although their leaders knew that "Might is the mother of Right." "The great guns are hammering into their heads the idea that if it is impossible to get around an obstacle, it is possible to destroy it."

Europe, says Trotzky, is entering upon a period of terrible poverty; this will inevitably produce profound political conflicts which may take on the character of a social revolution. On the other hand, the war, if it continues, may so exhaust the moral force of the proletariat as to leave them no fighting energy. Civilization would then be set back by many decades. Which alternative is the more likely Trotzky feels unable to guess, but he finds the moral clear. Immediate cessation of the war is the only solution. Real national self-defence demands this, for the war has become mutual national annihilation. Socialism demands it, to preserve the revolutionary energy of the proletariat. Trotzky's peace formula, as developed in the early stage of the war, when his book was written, overlaps but does not coincide with the classic Russian formula. It runs: "No contributions; the right of every nation to self-determination; the United States of Europe—without monarchies, without standing armies, without ruling feudal castes, without secret diplomacy."

The book closes on a note of confident prophecy. "We revolutionary Marxists have no cause for despair. The epoch into which we are now entering will be *our* epoch." The hope of a peaceful development, of a gradual growth into Socialism, is bankrupt. The new era will create new forms of proletarian organization that will be equal to the greatness of the new tasks. "We feel ourselves to be the only creative force of the future."

Students of the Marxian revolutionary philosophy will find in Trotzky's book little that is new in the way of ideas; it is rather in the application of the old ideas to the conditions of the early war period that the interest of the work chiefly consists. Now the conditions have changed again, but doubtless the Marxian formulas will still be considered adequate by their adherents. In any case, if Mr. Schwab is right, what Mr. Trotzky is thinking may be worth our study, not only as a picture of the assumptions and aims of a man suddenly whirled by the revolutionary forces of the great war to a position of cardinal importance, but as an expression of a way of looking at life which may yet directly concern ourselves; for, as we have discovered, we too live in the world and not in a house by the side of the road, where we can content ourselves with feeling friendly, and let it go at that.

A Tropical Laboratory

Tropical Wild Life in British Guiana. By William Beebe, G. Inness Hartley, and Paul G. Howes, with an introduction by Theodore Roosevelt. New York: Zoölogical Society. $3.15.

TWO years ago the New York Zoölogical Society established in British Guiana, at the junction of the Essequibo, Cayuni, and Mazaruni Rivers, a biological station for the study of tropical mammals, birds, and reptiles in their breeding grounds. Mr. William Beebe, Curator of Birds in the New York Zoölogical Park, was chosen as director, and his chief assistants were Messrs. G. Inness Hartley and Paul G. Howes. The entire cost of that Tropical Zoölogical Station was met by C. Ledyard Blair, Andrew Carnegie, Cleveland H. Dodge, Mortimer L. Schiff, and the late James J. Hill. The Zoölogical Society has issued in book form the first annual report on the work of the Station.

The bird-lover who takes up this handsome volume must adjust his mind to the high-speed gear. His long series of impressions of dry-as-dust, slightly annotated catalogues of tropical bird-skins, innocent of life histories, are at once left behind. This is indeed something new under the sun.

On carefully selected vantage ground, at the threshold of a luxuriant and beautiful tropical jungle literally teeming with remarkable mammals, birds, reptiles, and insects, Mr. Beebe and his corps of assistants settled down in comfort, and also in scientific luxury, to capture the unstudied creatures of the jungle and turn their life histories face-up on the table. These were no mere flirtations of a moment with hoatzin, toucan, tinamou, and trumpeter. They were complete conquests. It was not a case of a skimpy one or two specimens of a kind. It was riotous wealth and extravagance in the materials for study. Under such circumstances,

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it is no wonder that Mr. Beebe and his two fellow-authors revelled in their opportunities, and now write of them with the ardor and enthusiasm of discoverers. It could not have been otherwise; and it is pleasant to observe the generous spirit in which Director Beebe has, in this volume, brought Messrs. Hartley and Howes fully into the limelight of joint authorship.

The object of this unique Tropical Zoölogical Station of the New York Zoölogical Society was the study of tropical vertebrates along entirely new lines and by new methods. Contrary to all previous rules, it was not an effort to make large collections of dry specimens, to be put away in drawers and catalogued in dry "reports." It was a quest for life histories, for embryology, development, evolution, and things unknown. Hoatzin skins and skeletons were below par; but the claws on the wings, the climbing powers, and the diving and swimming abilities of the young bird were everything. The ordinary reader of this book is bound to feel that the life history and pictures of the hoatzin are "alone worth the price of admission." For the first time the character and the development of that strange bird are laid bare, in adequate and fascinating word and picture.

Through the medium of a colored plate the young gray-backed trumpeter bursts upon the startled reader with a resounding crash. Its bizarre color scheme is manifestly impossible; but there it is, drawn from life, and there is no going behind the returns. Mr. Beebe's curious unravelling of the mystery of the rough tarsus of the tinamou, and the discovery of its arboreal habit, surely will appeal to every young ornithologist. The sensational young toucan is another surprise, and its portraits are among the best bird pictures of the volume. The "development of the jacana," and that of the smooth-billed ani, can be mentioned only by title; and the great majority of the smaller birds, mammals, reptiles, and the perai fishes, cannot be mentioned at all. Mr. Howes's remarkable studies and photographs of tropical wasps and their works fairly compel interest, even in those who are not entomologists.

The subjects and the discoveries reported upon in this volume bring the wild life of the South American jungle closer to us than it ever before has been brought. Heretofore the life histories of South American birds have barely been scratched upon the surface. This experiment of the Zoölogical Society, in a new field, by the new method of research on the spot, scores a pronounced success, and it is impossible to contemplate the record of its first year's work without enthusiasm.

Contributors to this Issue

ROBERT BRUERE is a student of labor questions who has made special investigation of I. W. W. activities in the West.

NATHANIEL SCHMIDT is professor of Semitic languages and literatures in Cornell University.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER is president of the American Historical Association.

Notes

THE Century Company announces for publication shortly "The Return of the Soldier," by Rebecca West; "Wraiths and Realities," by Cale Young Rice; "Wings in the Night," by Alice Duer Miller.

"The Unwilling Vestal," by Edward Lucas White, will be published early next month by E. P. Dutton & Company.

In the near future A. C. McClurg & Company will issue "Long Heads and Round Heads, or What's the Matter with Germany?" by Dr. W. S. Sadler; "Holding the Line," by Sergeant Harold Baldwin; "Tarzan and the Jewels of Opar," fifth volume in the Tarzan series.

Small, Maynard & Company will publish on February 28 "The Best Short Stories of 1917," by Edward J. O'Brien.

"The Method of Henry James," by Joseph Warren Beach, will be issued this month by the Yale University Press.

Little, Brown & Company announce for early publication "Great Britain at War," by Jeffery Farnol, and "The House of Whispers," by William Johnston.

Among the early publications of Frederick A. Stokes are: "The House of Conrad," by Alias Tobenkin; "Ardours and Endurances," by Robert Nicols; "Army and Navy Uniforms and Insignia," by Col. Dion Williams; "Letters to the Mother of a Soldier," by Richardson Wright; and "The Psychology of the Future," by Emile Boirac.

WE had occasion recently to notice a book in which Mr. Ingpen brought out a number of documents bearing on the life of Shelley. There now lies before us a volume giving much curious information about what may be called the Shelley cult. It is a volume of "Letters about Shelley" (Hodder & Stoughton), edited by R. S. Garnett, and containing the correspondence of Richard Garnett (the editor's father) and William Michael Rossetti and Edward Dowden, chiefly during the years when the last-named was engaged in the composition of the poet's life. It cannot be said that most of the letters are particularly entertaining in themselves, but they are unique in their way, and will be welcome to the devotees of Shelley and to readers interested in the minutiæ of literary scholarship. Here one may see most of the knowledge we possess about Shelley in the very process of discovery and verification. Occasionally there is a note of captivating enthusiasm, as when, for instance, Professor Dowden tells how the project of the biography was first broached to him by Sir Percy and Lady Shelley. Nor are the letters strictly confined to one subject. They have a good deal to say about Southey, among others, and on the whole deal pretty justly with that seldom-honored writer. Curious bits of information are dropped by the way. For example, Southey in one of his letters to Caroline Bowles reported that a certain gentleman was insane. The name of the person was suppressed in Mr. Warter's edition of the letters, and Miss Warter would not permit Dowden to supply it in his life of Southey. We now learn that the man supposed to be mad was Benjamin Disraeli. Besides such matters of gossip, more or less important, the correspondence of our three Shelleyites contains a good deal of such general literary talk as would be expected.

IN "A Bibliography of Thomas Gray" (Yale University Press; $3) Professor Clark Sunderland Northup gives

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us the first of the "Cornell Studies in English." He has undertaken to "present a complete record of the editions of Thomas Gray's works, together with a list of all the reviews, critical notices, and studies relating to him that have thus far appeared," except such critical notices as occur in the less important general histories of English literature. A scheme so extensive, carried out so minutely and searchingly, reduces the number of competent reviewers to one, the compiler himself. A less competent person, however, in a moderately careful examination of the book has found that Mr. Northup is not, as he will be glad to admit, infallible. He has, for instance, made a slight mistake in his transcription of the title-page of the 1912 Muses' Library edition of "The Poems of Johnson, Goldsmith, Gray, and Collins" (No. 176a), and has not noted the Introduction, pp. [i]–xlix, either in this issue or in that of 1905 (No. 175). He seems not to have discovered that Gray is represented in Longfellow's "Poems of Places" (1876-79) and in R. M. Leonard's pleasant anthology, "A Book of Light Verse" (1910). In his entry for the "Sonnet on the Death of Mr. Richard West" Professor Northup omits any reference to the classic passage in the Preface to the "Lyrical Ballads" (1800) in which Wordsworth quotes this sonnet as an illustration of false poetic diction. George Ellis is credited with the "Elegy Written in a College Library" (No. 1021a), as if it had first appeared in Walter Jerrold and R. M. Leonard's "A Century of Parody and Imitation" (1913); elsewhere the same parody (No. 939) is called the work of Sir John Henry Moore and assigned to the year 1777.

DOUBTLESS further slips of this small kind could be unearthed, but for the most part the book is highly exact. Working on a very different plan and scale, Mr. Northup not only does for Gray what Mr. Thompson has done for Milton, but goes beyond him by making a bibliography which will be permanently indispensable to the collector, the expert bibliographer, and the general student of literary history. As for the curious, they will find much solace in the volume. How many of them know that a certain M. Hoyau refused to include "The Progress of Poesy" in his "Poésies de Gray" (1837) because, as he said, "l'auteur n'y cite que les poètes de sa nation, et j'eusse été contrarié de me rendre l'interprète d'un patriotisme injuste"; or that the "Elegy" first appeared as "An Elegy Wrote in a Country Church Yard," and not until the eighth edition was the word "Written" substituted; or that the "Elegy" has been translated into Armenian, Bohemian, Dutch, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Latin, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, and Welsh?

THE author of "Recollections of an Admiral's Wife" has just given to the public a second series of reminiscences under the title of "An Admiral's Wife in the Making" (E. P. Dutton; $3 net). Lady Poore has enjoyed rare opportunities of travel and of meeting distinguished people in various parts of the world from Queen Victoria down, and she has learned to know *in situ* Egypt, Algiers, Malta, Italy, France, England, and Ireland on one shore of the Altantic; Canada, the United States, Bermuda, and the West Indies on the other. Even so wide an experience might not have made her book interesting had she not been gifted with keen Irish wit and a delicious sense of humor. Hardly one of her pages lacks its delightful anecdote brimming over with fun, while her sympathy with her fellowmen leads her, on occasion, to recount tales of touching pathos. Nevertheless, she can, at times, indulge in somewhat caustic reflections on things or persons coming under the ban of her displeasure. With her for guide, the reader may live over again her early days in the Emerald Isle; may visit her sister at Alexandria; may share her solicitude in her lover's arduous yet splendid work in dragging his little steamer up through the Nile cataracts to the hoped-for relief of Gordon at Khartum. Especially valuable is the light she throws on social life in British naval circles during the transition from sail to steam. Her story, covering a space of forty years, ends with Sir Richard's promotion to the grade of rear-admiral in 1903, followed by detachment from his last single ship command. A more entertaining bit of autobiography it would be difficult to find.

AN enjoyable holiday excursion in a motor car in southeastern England is described in "The Road and the Inn" (Macmillan), by James J. Hissey. He avoided the main roads and large towns, and explored narrow byways and lanes, and so came unexpectedly on many a forgotten moated grange, ruined abbey, crumbling castle, and storied inn of coaching days. To animated accounts of these are added quaint legends and stories connected with them, bringing in many noted persons of long ago. The illustrations add much to the attractiveness of the book.

CHARLES LYON CHANDLER presents a second edition of his useful little book, "Inter-American Acquaintances" (Sewanee University Press; $1.25). The chapter on Beginning of Pan-American Relations, considerably extended, includes an account of our early commercial relations with Latin America, especially with Brazil and the region of La Plata. That devoted to the part taken by citizens of the United States in the Latin-American War of Independence presents an interesting sketch of the career of Charles Whiting Wooster, at one time rear-admiral in the Chilian navy, based on the paper read by Mr. Chandler at the Cincinnati meeting of the American Historical Association. A new chapter relates to the Wilkes Exploring Expedition on the east and west coasts of South America. The chapters on The Pan-Americanism of Henry Clay, The Pan-American Origin of the Monroe Doctrine, and Diversions in Euscaran are unchanged. The Epitome of Dates, 1807–1826, has a few additions. The author makes no claim to completeness. His most significant contribution, his first chapter, dealing almost wholly with early trading voyages between the United States and South America, affords a starting point for future monographs based on Spanish archives. While he shows that the Monroe Doctrine had a "Pan-American origin," he has ignored some recent studies that would have rendered his own contribution more complete. Henry Clay was a noted apostle of Pan-Americanism, but one may doubt the effectiveness as well as the unselfishness of his propaganda, in view of his relations with that "sterling Pan-American," (?) John Quincy Adams. "Charles III" (p. 22) should be Charles IV. Diego de Gardoqui was not the "Spanish Minister to the United States" in 1776 (p. 26) nor thereafter. The place where McCauley met his death is uncertain (pp. 114, 116). "Chacabucom" does not need the final letter. This error, like "typographical" (p. 153), names itself. Despite a few slips

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of this sort, Mr. Chandler has given us a useful record of persons and events that were once important in inter-American relations. Because of extensive excerpts from little-known sources his volume will contribute to the new spirit of solidarity now developing on this continent. There is, however, no reason to believe, as author and publisher intimate, that this solidarity should, at the conclusion of the present war, bring about a hostile alignment of the New World against the Old.

FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN, publisher of "Art in America" and of various monographs on American artists, sends us a thin book of his own writing, privately printed, called "Landscape and Figure Painters of America." It deals pleasantly with some half dozen artists, Homer Martin, Newman, Blakelock, Ryder, Daingerfield, all of them of the emotional and subjective type, painters of moods rather than of things. The opinion of the layman on art of this kind is perhaps as good as, or better than, that of the professional. Such art either gives you pleasurable emotions or it does not. If it does you can only endeavor to express the feeling it induces; if it does not the fault may as well be yours as the artist's. But the lay critic would do well to avoid questions of objective truth, and when Mr. Fairchild speaks of the "faultless drawing" of a figure by Blakelock, or of Ryder's "astonishing ability as a draughtsman" he marks the limitations of this kind of writing. It is not merely that Blakelock and Ryder were bad draughtsmen, but that anything which a draughtsman would recognize as drawing, good or bad, has no place whatever in their art. Drawing is a statement, true or false, about the shapes and structure of things, and artists of this type do not make statements—they sing.

IN these dark days, when events in our favor move with depressing slowness, one welcomes so sanguine a note as that of Prof. W. Macneile Dixon in his well-illustrated book, "The British Navy at War" (Houghton Mifflin; 75 cents). From the holder of the chair of English literature at the University of Glasgow one expects, and is not disappointed, to find not only that the style is beyond criticism, but that the subject-matter is distinctly idealized. His accounts of the great, although often silent, achievements of the British navy afloat furnish most agreeable and, at times, thrilling reading. Especially interesting is his tribute to the work of the British merchantmen, who have surely borne with splendid credit their share in patrolling and sweeping the seas, as well as in maintaining a vital supply of the necessaries of life and of warfare. Professor Dixon's rôle is unmistakably that of panegyrist. Possibly he might have waited until the present moment when the strategy of the Admiralty (long disapproved by competent students of naval affairs who loyally refrained from giving open expression, but now vigorously attacked by them with even greater loyalty) is being criticised; he might not have extolled "the organization that supported so gigantic a superstructure." In brief, he is unreservedly a panegyrist who gives exceedingly well the bright side of the vast question, and in so engaging a manner as to merit very general attention.

The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Published Thursdays. Owned by THE NATION PRESS, INC., OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, President. EMIL M. SCHOLZ, Publisher, Secy. and Treas.

Entered at the New York City Post Office as second class mail matter.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, EDITOR
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R. B. McCLEAN, BUSINESS MANAGER
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SUBSCRIPTION RATES.—Four dollars per annum, postpaid, in United States and Mexico; to Canada, $4.50, and to foreign countries comprised in the Postal Union, $5.00.

Address, THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street. P. O. Box 794, New York.

LONDON OFFICE: 16 Regent St., S. W.; WASHINGTON OFFICE: Home Life Building; CHICAGO OFFICE: People's Gas Building.

TREATISES on aviation, which are increasing very rapidly, can at present be divided into two classes: one is devoted to construction and engineering problems; the other to instructions in the art of flying, generally accompanied by typical experiences. Lieut. Edgar C. Middleton's little book, "The Way of the Air" (Stokes; $1 net), belongs to the latter class. It contains some very useful advice to the prospective aviator: in the first place, he must be young—not under eighteen or over twenty-four; not too short or too tall; with all his faculties in full vigor; with a strong heart and steady nerves. If he has shuddered when on the brink of a precipice or on the edge of the roof of a twenty-story building, what will be his sensations in a cockle shell a mile above the earth? After a description of necessary training and a warning of perils, Lieutenant Middleton gives a rapturous account of the sensations of one realizing a dream of flying like an eagle, and invites a young man to the most exhilarating experience of an athletic training. The author believes that hydroplane service is more monotonous and less interesting than aeroplane service; moreover, the danger of alighting on a rough sea is great, on account of the frailty of the floats of the hydroplane.

A HANDY volume professing to offer a simple way of finding out the names of common plants, without any previous knowledge of botany, is "Name this Flower," by Gaston Bonnier, translated by G. S. Boulger (E. P. Dutton; $2.50 net). The author is a professor of botany at the Sorbonne and a member of the French Academy of Sciences. At first it would seem to be a task unworthy of a successful investigator to prepare for unscientific readers a little handbook free from all technicalities to guide them in a part of the field which he has made his own. In our own country, Mrs. Dana, Dr. Walton, and others have given to the public convenient manuals based largely on the use of the conspicuous features of flowers, leaves, and stems. Professor Bonnier has given to French, and his translator has made accessible to English, students a very simple and yet thorough system by which about 700 species of plants can be recognized. The only test of the usefulness of such a book is to try it on a few local plants which are also common in western Europe, and Professor Bonnier survives the test. If it had a wider range and comprehended our American flora to some extent, it would be of great utility as a handbook for our young naturalists. But although it is primarily for French students, the translator has taken in

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enough species to make it worth while for our students to employ it. Every intelligent student who seeks to ascertain by it the names of our plants introduced from western Europe will be charmed by the ingenuity of Professor Bonnier's "simple way."

The Thomas Eakins Exhibition

THE Thomas Eakins collection has come back from the Metropolitan Museum in New York, about eighty pictures have been added to it, and another Eakins Memorial Exhibition has been opened at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia.

There is a special interest in seeing Eakins's collected work in the town in which he spent his working life, and there is the further interest of seeing it to better advantage than was possible at the Metropolitan, where the walls were overcrowded and little discrimination was shown in the hanging. Critics have become so debauched by the popular huge, packed-tight exhibition in which barely an inch of wall is left uncovered that they have lost all sense of arrangement, and the Philadelphia critics have been busy lamenting how much better they managed this thing in New York. But the Pennsylvania Academy deserves all praise for the really admirable show it has made. There is no overcrowding, the pictures are hung mostly in a single line, harmoniously spaced and balanced, the small sketches are well grouped, decorative and logical sequence is respected. The pleasure in looking at the collection helps one to forget the shabbiness of the galleries, and altogether the show is so fine an achievement on the part of the Academy, though it may be understood and appreciated only by the few, that one wishes the same scheme of arrangement may be followed for the Academy's spring and, indeed, all other exhibitions.

Now that Eakins is so excellently presented to a public reproached for neglecting him in his lifetime, the important question is, what sort of impression does he make? Philadelphia outdoes most towns in turning its back upon its prophets, but when by chance it decides to recognize one among them, it is apt to lose its head and rush to the other extreme. The Philadelphia notices—and those of New York were equally fulsome—have abounded in comparisons with Rembrandt, Hals, Velasquez, Chardin, Ingres, and I hardly know who—while Sargent, Degas, and other such nonentities are quite knocked out, and genius dwindles into far too meagre a word for the Philadelphia master. This is not simply an amiable, but a foolish, mistake, if any reputation whatever is to be left to Eakins. It sets the highest standards, and in consequence the student of his art is prejudiced against him for falling so far short of it. For Eakins does fall short, and he would be a wonder of wonders if he did not. He is not a Rembrandt, Hals, Velasquez, Chardin, nor Ingres—not even a great artist and no amount of booming will make him one. Eakins was a well-trained painter, a good draughtsman, who studied in the best schools, who knew his trade and understood it, but who had not the vision, the power, the sense of beauty of the really great. At his best, he did fine things like The Gross Clinic, a large, dignified group skilfully managed, the interest centred upon the principal figure without any sacrifice of the composition as a whole, the portraits of the operating doctors rendered carefully, yet in relation to the students suggested in the background—a difficult problem successfully solved, and undoubtedly the finest picture of the sort ever done in America. There is no evidence that the color has changed as it has in many of his other pictures. The glittering blood on Dr. Gross's fingers is as red as when it was painted nearly fifty years ago and refused at the Centennial Exposition. And yet, even here he cannot get over his cheap trick of concentrating the light on one figure or part of it, with the result that the portrait of Dr. Gross is less satisfactory than the broader and more restrained study for the head, or the small sketch infinitely more artistic than the large picture. Neither study nor sketch was shown in New York. It is to be regretted that this fine example was not procured for the Academy, where, I believe, it hung for some years. But then the Academy in its old days missed many chances: for one, the chance of buying Whistler's Mother, which it first showed to the American public, and which it might have had for five hundred dollars, one hundred and twenty less than the absurdly small sum subsequently paid by the Luxembourg. The Gross Clinic towers over most of the other work in the Eakins collection, but the test would be to see it side by side with, I will not say Rembrandt's Lesson in Anatomy, as the critics do, but rather some of the huge *machins* that are the commonplaces of the two *Salons*—say, the huge groups by Besnard or by Geoffroi, who were his contemporaries. When Eakins was exposed to the test of comparison in Europe, he did not come out of it with much distinction. I remember seeing his 'Cello Player, upon which praises here are abundantly lavished, when it was at the International in London, and it simply vanished. At the Paris Exposition of 1900, where the grand prize was awarded to Whistler and Sargent and where Winslow Homer and John La Farge also were honored, Eakins received but an honorable mention from an international jury of artists, not critics. I cannot now recall just what he showed, so small was the impression he made in a world competition, but I think his Professor George F. Barker and Professor Henry A. Rowland were sent, and it is fair to add that neither is of his best.

If The Gross Clinic is one of his successes, The Agnew Clinic must rank among his failures. The light may actually have fallen with the same brilliance on the group of white-coated surgeons and the white draperies and the white flesh of the patient in the foreground, though I doubt it. But if it did, the students seated beyond, in tier above tier, could not have been seen at all; here they hit you in the face and each looks as if he were posing in the studio, as he very likely was. The painting is subordinated to a record of greater importance to the University of Pennsylvania than to art. It is when we turn from these large groups to the individual portraits that Eakins's limitations become more marked. There are exceptions. Not the characterless ecclesiastics, the Falstaff of a Walt Whitman, The 'Cello Player lagging so far behind its fame, the Harrison Morris that seems to resolve itself into the study of a red tie, not the majority of Philadelphia's distinguished men. But there is that head of Dr. Gross, and alongside of it a sketch of William H. MacDowell put in with even greater breadth and as full of character. The Mrs. Gilbert L. Parker, with high fur collar and lace at the throat, is no less strong a study, while the textures are given with the right feeling

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for them and their values. Nothing could be fresher than the head of Ruth, the quality of the flesh, of the young, pure pink and white skin, of the yellow hair, of the great rose ribbon bow that ties it, all expressed with a wonderful technical simplicity and sympathy. The striking personality the painter evidently felt in Elizabeth R. Coffin, Artist, and Clara, two young women, inspired him to as personal an interpretation. No less excellent is The Writing Master, the portrait of his father; the expression of the old man looking down absorbed in his task and the carefully studied hands are as true as anything Eakins ever did, though he all but spoiled the canvas by the inevitable high light on the lofty forehead. That this should be one of the pictures selected for purchase by the Metropolitan Museum can be understood, but it is not easy to account for the choice of The Thinker, one of the life-size, standing figures Eakins delighted to paint. Four hang on the same wall in the large gallery, and nearly all have the same crease in the trousers, the same clodhopper boots, nearly all stand in the same attitude reminiscent of the Prado but scarcely of Velasquez. How utterly untrue they are not only to art, but to life, can be judged by the portrait of John McLure Hamilton, which, with the exception of the top of the head, is simply a pathetic caricature totally devoid of Hamilton's character or even of his taste in clothes. Eakins has seemed to see not only Hamilton, but his own idea of the gentleman as that sadly abused word is interpreted nowadays—the well and correctly dressed man who observes the laws of fashion—and his care has too obviously gone to the hang of the coat, the crease of the trousers, the shine of the boots —details that are pure mannerisms: the same crease in almost everybody's trousers, the same high light on almost everybody's boots, those boots which at times are so enormous that the wearer never could have raised his foot off the ground. Despite his pains with the Hamilton, he got but clumsiness out of his worried observation of the unimportant.

Unfortunately for Eakins, some of Hamilton's portraits are in the Academy's permanent collection, and it is curious to contrast his Richard Vaux with Eakins's Riter Fitzgerald. Both are Philadelphians, both are painted in their libraries in the same city. The Eakins is without unity, the unessential emphasized as diligently as the essential, the real character of the sitter lost in the painter's awkward mannerisms. In the Hamilton, Richard Vaux sits before you as he was, the amusing old Philadelphia type, no essential detail omitted or slurred over, the books in their bookcase, the litter on the table delightfully suggested, but the man, with his strong head, dominating his surroundings, which merely help to accentuate his character. This and Hamilton's Gladstone in the same collection are infinitely better, infinitely greater, and more complete works of art than anything of the kind Eakins ever did in his life. Other paintings belonging to the Academy offer as illuminating a contrast, and they were there, or in the Gibson Gallery, during Eakins's régime, and, the chances are, were very useful to him. The much-praised Pathetic Song has beautiful passages in it, the silk gown of the woman who stands singing in the foreground is a fine piece of painting, there is more tenderness in the two figures lost in the shadows of the background than Eakins usually allowed himself. But there is no relation between these two figures and the singer. The lighting is incomprehensible, though it was evidently the painter's chief concern. The singer in her violet gown is as brilliant as if she were on the stage in strong limelight, but not a ray or a gleam of light breaks the shadows immediately behind her, and the two figures might be anywhere rather than in the same room with her. The small sketch of this subject, as with so many others, is far truer, and yet Eakins is everlastingly called a realist. In the Gibson collection, across the hall, is an Alfred Stevens with something of the same study of light, though his young woman in her pale gown is out of doors where the shadows lurk in heavy foliage, but the relation between the figure and her background, between the lights and shadows, is as true to nature as in the Eakins it is meretricious. So, also, Eakins's landscapes may be compared to the Daubignys and the Courbets, especially his photographic landscape with a tree to Courbet's trees at Ornans; his little Professionals—who are not professionals, but one, at least, his pupil sitting for the title—to the near Meissonier; his marine to the Boudin he no doubt knew and had studied when it hung in Mr. Gibson's collection in Walnut Street. The very critics who have been overwhelming Eakins with comparisons to the Old Masters had but to step across the hall, which they would never have thought of doing, to discover that comparison to the Modern Masters does not turn out exactly in his favor. If the other comparison were possible, their eyes might be opened if, for instance, they could see how like a photograph the ambitious Music Collector would become placed by Holbein's Ambassadors, of which it is a faint, far-away echo.

The need of the critics in this country at the present day is a standard. A man like Eakins, when shown alone in so complete a series, may seem to them marvellous in his achievement. But to exalt him to a seat among the mighty is to bring him with a crash to the earth. It is a pity, for he is an interesting painter if not a great master. I have spoken of The Gross Clinic and several of the portraits, but I am not sure that the best things he ever did were not the William Rush Carving the Allegorical Figure of the Schuylkill River, with its well-drawn nude, and, better still, the sporting subjects, the boxers with the splendid rendering of flesh, and the audience kept in place; though again, in one at least, his misplaced interest in unessential boots must obtrude. Dates are not given in the catalogue, but I cannot help wondering whether these boxers were not done before his interest in Maybridge's experiments tended to an interest in photographic movement which is sometimes no movement at all. Traces of this are found in his rowing men, his sailing boats, most of all in Fairman Rogers's four-in-hand, one of the most comical messes in the whole exhibition, the horses standing still and the four-in-hand running over them. And yet the way he has enveloped the figures in atmosphere makes this one of the best of the landscapes. There are other things of which I have not spoken—studies of women at a spinning wheel; numerous sketches, almost invariably more vital and expressive than the elaborate pictures of which they were the suggestions or notes; the big Crucifixion, which made such a stir in its day. In a word, Eakins was a sufficiently important painter in his generation to justify the Memorial Exhibition by which he is being honored, even if eventually the world jury may not endorse to-day's critics.

N. N.

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Chicago Opera in New York

By HENRY T. FINCK

THE monotony resulting from the exclusion of Wagner's operas (for alleged "patriotic" reasons) from the repertory of the Metropolitan Opera House this season has been relieved to some extent by the visit of the Chicago Opera Company, which, during the last four weeks, drew many crowded audiences to the Lexington Theatre. This company is made up largely of singers surviving from Oscar Hammerstein's seasons at the Manhattan Opera House in New York, and the operas they sing are still mainly those with which, a decade or more ago, he made sensation after sensation. Mary Garden is still in the "Who's Who" of the Chicago Company, and so are Nellie Melba, Arimondi, Charlier, Dufranne, Dalmores, Huberdeau, and several others. The main regret about the Lexington Theatre performances during these last four weeks was that, owing to a weakened heart, Mr. Cleofonte Campanini was unable to show that he is still unsurpassed as an operatic conductor who is equally at home in the French and Italian schools.

A newcomer, Amelita Galli-Curci, who has been a sensation for two years in Chicago and other American cities, but whose New York début had been deferred, lent special brilliancy to the short season at the Lexington Theatre. Expectations were more than fulfilled. Not since Luisa Tetrazzini took the town by storm, ten years ago, has any singer aroused such a whirlwind of excitement and applause as Mme. Galli-Curci did at her first appearance as Dinorah in Meyerbeer's opera of that name. The ovation accorded to her by the audience on the opening night, before she had sung a note, showed that the verdict of other American cities was accepted as correct. Moreover, after the first act there was another ovation, although the singer had had no opportunity to justify it. After the Shadow Song there was some reason for the demonstrations of delight; but she did not by any means justify the claim made that she is the equal of Jenny Lind, Patti, Melba, and Sembrich. Her voice has not the same mellow, luscious quality, or the same spontaneity. Nor is it as beautiful a voice as Tetrazzini's was when she first came here, or as Frieda Hempel's is now. I can name an American singer, Lucy Gates, whose voice is purer, warmer, and truer to the pitch than Mme. Galli-Curci's, while her skill in executing difficult feats of ornamental vocalism is no less astonishing.

It is this skill—*bravura* is the technical term—that constitutes Mme. Galli-Curci's chief asset. What makes audiences applaud her so wildly is her brilliant and almost flawless execution of rapid scales and roulades and other fripperies. These are really instrumental in character, because they frustrate the clear enunciation of words which is what makes the human voice superior to all instruments; but the public doesn't mind that. Nor does it seem to mind her singing out of tune frequently; it even applauds her trill, which is vague as to pitch and otherwise unsatisfactory.

It was a pleasure to hear Mme. Melba again and to note that at the age of fifty-eight she is still mistress of *bel canto*. Another favorite whom the public welcomed effusively was Mary Garden. Her lasting success is the more remarkable inasmuch as there is a grain of truth in the legend that she is "a singer without a voice." It is still as an actress rather than as a singer that she fascinates in such works as "Pelléas et Mélisande," "Monna Vanna," and "Carmen." Two of the operas with which her name is associated inseparably, "Louise" and "Le Jongleur de Notre Dame," were unfortunately given without her. Her chief rival in histrionic ability in Mr. Campanini's company is Lucien Muratore, the French tenor on whom the mantle of Jean de Reszke has fallen. His Romeo, Faust, and Don José place him in the very first rank of operatic actors and singers of the present and past.

Of the three new operas included in the repertory the most widely heralded was Mascagni's "Isabeau," which proved to be, from every point of view except that of craftsmanship, quite unworthy of the composer of the tuneful "Cavalleria Rusticana." The libretto is a variant of the story of Lady Godiva's ride. Far better from the point of view of musical inspiration is Sylvio Lazzari's Parisian opera, "Le Sauteriot," which is based on E. de Keyserling's drama, "Sacre de Printemps." The composer, a Tyrolean by birth, who has spent most of his life in Paris, was for years president of the French Wagner Society, which accounts for his liberal borrowings from Wagner's scores. Debussy, too, is often suggested; yet there is enough of the composer's own to make his opera rank high among recent productions. The same cannot be said of the American novelty in the list, Hadley's "Azora." Henry Hadley, like all American opera composers excepting Victor Herbert, lacks stage experience; he writes admirably for the orchestra, but his vocal parts are ineffective and undramatic. He was hampered, too, by an unskilfully constructed libretto.

Fifty Years of English Drama

THE English theatre from the early Victorian period to the present time is of particular interest to the student of the modern stage, not only on account of its intrinsic historical importance, but because of its direct influence on theatrical conditions of to-day. In "The Contemporary Drama of England" (Little, Brown & Co.; $1.25 net), a volume of the Contemporary Drama Series, Prof. Thomas H. Dickinson has given a singularly clear and comprehensive analysis of actual theatrical conditions. In "Adaptation and Experiment" he traces, with knowledge and felicity, the interaction between the French and English stages, assigning the dramatists and their products to various categories with notable accuracy of definition and characterizing the work of English translators and adapters with insight and precision. While conceding Scribe's defects as a dramatist, he insists, very justly, upon the good influence of his example as an expert technician. His rapid review of the early and mid-Victorian dramatists

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is judicious. Particularly noteworthy is his appreciation of the work of Tom Robertson and the Bancrofts, to which he refers much of the betterment in the theatre and the social status of actors, towards the end of the nineteenth century. He gives a just and acute summary of Irving's capacities and achievement.

The hopeful revival which manifested itself in the eighties and nineties Mr. Dickinson is inclined to attribute largely to the appearance in England of the Comédie Française and of Italian and German companies. He remarks, very sanely, that the influence of Ibsen was indirect rather than direct. Among the "dramatists of transition"—Wills, Merivale, Albery, Buchanan, and others—he selects Sydney Grundy and W. S. Gilbert as the most notable.

"The Busy Nineties" is a brilliant bit of rapid survey. In this the author discusses the effects of the experimental theatre and the publication of plays in book form. This was the period when the so-called new theatre was in its birth throes. His description of these, which is excellent—notably his appraisals of Wilde and Phillips—explains, perhaps, why there was no successful delivery. Yet there have been memorable achievements by the independent theatres, especially by those of John T. Grein and William Poel. The Stage Society has been a valuable pioneer, and other minor but ambitious societies have produced notable plays.

J. R. T.

Finance

Repudiation

THE doubt abroad as to what action the Bolsheviki intend finally to take on the payment of interest or principal on Russia's external and internal loans has lately been increased not only by their own proposals, but by new internal complexities. Even if the present Government at Petrograd were to decide to continue interest on the loans, or felt itself compelled to do so in order to raise new credit, it is highly improbable that it would want to take over the full debt. Should Finland and the Ukraine become independent states, the Bolsheviki would doubtless insist that these separated states should pay their proportional share of the debt—the total debt, or merely the pre-war debt, or whatever it was decided to pay. It is a possible outcome that even if the Petrograd Government flatly repudiated the Russian debt, the Ukraine, which has often been doing exactly the contrary of the Bolshevik Government, might agree to pay what it deemed its proportional share of the interest.

The most notorious instances of repudiation in history have not been the repudiation of bonded debts. They have been the repudiation of currency. The payment of a flat cent on the dollar in settlement of the Continental currency during the time of our own Revolution, the total repudiation of the immense issues of *assignats* during the French Revolution, the repudiation of the Confederate currency, the repudiation of currency issued by revolutionary leaders in Mexico and in Central and South American states—all these have been violations of the promise to pay; but they have been the repudiation of an internal debt, a non-interest-bearing debt, a debt not in the form of bonds.

The fundamental distinction between such debts and bonded debts is that the currency can be forced into circulation—in other words, the "loan" can be forced—whereas bonded loans have always been voluntary. Where a loan can be forced it does not make such a vital difference to a Government, save from a moral point of view, whether it be repaid or not. But where loans must be voluntary, it is necessary to pay former loans, in order to show good faith, and to maintain credit for the making of future loans.

But it is not true, as one occasionally hears contended, that no nation has ever repudiated a bonded loan. Not to go far back into history, and into the notorious indifference of mediæval kings on the subject of their debt payment, there are enough instances in our own time. Turkey, Portugal, and Greece have marks against them—at least to the extent of repudiating interest payments. The Central American countries are notable offenders. The conditions which lead to repudiation of debt in countries where revolution is chronic are not difficult to see. A revolutionary leader, needing money desperately, may be willing to pay foreign bankers or lenders 10 per cent. to get it. Foreigners may be tempted by the gamble. But the next Government in power may contend that the money was borrowed at an excessive rate and for purposes not governmental.

There is in London a society known as the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders. Its principal object is to protect the interests of holders of foreign securities. It was founded in 1868 and incorporated by act of Parliament in 1898. It is not governmental. It possesses no compulsory powers. But it exercises great influence. To nations which have defaulted, or have considered defaulting, it has often brought a change of heart, partly by moral suasion, partly by more tangible means. To incur its displeasure is to exclude the possibility of obtaining money in the principal market in which floating capital is always available for investment. When a Balkan or a South American state immediately in need of new funds has subscribed to the wishes of the Corporation, the Corporation has usually placed its representatives in control of some source of revenue, usually the customs.

The Corporation publishes an annual report, in which it gives the debt in default of Governments throughout the world. Its report for 1912 went back to 1887. Certain debts previously in default had been paid up. The $111,000,000 of Argentine Provincial loans in default in 1893, for instance, had been reduced in 1897 to $60,000,000, and in five years more had been wiped out. In 1912 the Corporation had no defaulted foreign debt to report except a principal amount of $7,414,000 of Gautemala, $26,992,800 of Honduras—and the debt of the Confederate States. The old Confederacy was charged with a debt of a principal amount of $12,000,000, and the individual States, Louisiana, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, Virginia, and West Virginia, with debts of a capital amount ranging from $5,627,000 to $15,200,000. And to these capital amounts is carefully added every year the accrued interest since the time of default. Apparently the Corporation does not despair of a change of heart, whereby these old obligations will be recognized.

The question of repudiation was brought most strikingly home to people of this country when, in his annual message of 1868, President Johnson made the extraordinary suggestion that "the 6 per cent. interest now paid by the Government" on its debt "should be applied to the reduction of the principal in semi-annual instalments." That was overwhelmingly condemned in Congress. But the suggestion had been made by the highest official in the Government.

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BOOKS OF THE WEEK

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Redier, A. Comrades in Courage. Doubleday, Page. $1.40 net.
Shapiro, A. R. Red Ruth. Chicago: Arc Publishing Co. $1.35.

MISCELLANEOUS

Baring, M. A Year in Russia. Dutton. $2.50 net.
Buffin, B. C. Brave Belgians. Translated by A. Hallard. Putnams. $1.50 net.
"Contact." Cavalry of the Clouds. Doubleday, Page. $1.25 net.
Daniel Webster in England. Journal of Harriette Story Paige, 1839. Edited by Edward Gray. Houghton Mifflin. $5 net.
Follett, H. T. and W. Some Modern Novelists. Holt. $1.50 net.
Gammans, H. W. Common Men and Women. Boston: Four Seas Co.
Kennard, Lady. A Roumanian Diary. Dodd, Mead. $1.25 net.
Langdon, C. The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri. Vol. I: Inferno. Harvard University Press. $2.50 net.
Pepys, S., Jr. A Second Diary of the Great War. Lane. $1.50 net.
Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Vol. XXIV. Edited by M. M. Quaife. Published by the Society.
Thayer, W. R. The Collapse of Superman. Houghton Mifflin. 60 cents.
Willcox, C. de W. A French-English Military Technical Dictionary. Harper. $4 net.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Abbott, H. P. A. The Man Outside the Church and Other Sermons. Young Churchman Co. $1.50.
Alexander, F. M. Man's Supreme Inheritance. Dutton. $2 net.
Barrett, W. F. On the Threshold of the Unseen. Dutton. $2.50 net.
Carr, H. W. The Philosophy of Benedetto Croce. Macmillan.
Crozier, J. B. Last Words on Great Issues. Dutton. $3.50 net.
Eiselelen, F. C. The Psalms and Other Sacred Writings. Methodist Book Concern. $1.75 net.
Lyman, E. W. The God of the New Age. Pilgrim Press. 60 cents net.
Powell, J. W. The Confessions of a Browning Lover. Abingdon Press. $1.
Walpole, G. H. S. Life in the World to Come. Young Churchman Co. $1.15.

GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMICS.

Cestre, C. France, England, and European Democracy, 1215-1915. Putnam. $2.50 net.
Everett, W. G. Moral Values. Holt. $2.75 net.
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Summary of the News

A POLITICAL and military crisis involving the Lloyd George Government was temporarily averted when the Government won a victory over its adversaries on a resolution criticising the recent action of the Versailles Inter-Allied Council, by a vote of 159 to 28. The Premier was supported by Arthur J. Balfour, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Andrew Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Robert Cecil, while the opposition was led by Mr. Asquith and Herbert Samuel. The Opposition is hailing the former Premier as the rising hope of a peace party, and the rift between Mr. George and Mr. Asquith has grown wider. The vote of confidence merely voiced a desire not to embarrass the Government, but opinion in favor of a peace by negotiation was strong. Liberals, Radicals, and members of the Labor party, as well as many Unionists, rallied to Mr. Asquith when he fully endorsed President Wilson's recent speech as to terms of peace, while Mr. George referred to it only in taking exception to the President's view of Count Czernin's friendly attitude. Mr. George was subjected to persistent heckling, and widespread criticism of a renewal of the "knock-out-blow" policy, implied in the decision of the Versailles Council, was concentrated in the challenging phrase, "Washington or Versailles?" In its military aspect this ministerial crisis involves the War Cabinet and the High Command of the army, and is centred in the resignation of Gen. Sir William Robertson, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and the appointment in his stead of Gen. Sir Henry Wilson. At the present moment Mr. George is still master of the situation.

ECONOMIC and political chaos in Russia is growing, according to the latest delayed dispatches from Petrograd. The armistice with the German Government expired on February 18, and the German Government reserved for itself complete freedom of action, in view of the fact that Russia had signed no peace. Civil war in the Ukraine, in Finland, and in the Baltic provinces paves the way for German support to the moderate or bourgeois governments in these countries against the Radical Bolshevist element. In spite of this danger, Trotzky has cut off Russia more completely from the Entente by announcing that Russia's withdrawal from the war was a real withdrawal and included all agreements with her former allies, with complete freedom as to her future foreign policy. Meanwhile a reign of economic anarchy prevails in the country, with greatest violence in Petrograd. Looting, pillaging, and indiscriminate shooting culminated in the death of 100 men in one fight. Forty thousand freed German and Austrian prisoners are in Petrograd, and add to the danger of widespread starvation in that unhappy capital.

THE entire foreign commerce of the United States was proclaimed subject to license by President Wilson, under powers granted him by the Espionage and Trading with the Enemy acts. This drastic war measure, to be effective beginning February 16, gives the Government control over all exports and imports and affects commerce with every nation in the world. Trade with South America and the Orient will be necessarily diminished, and some imports will be cut 50 per cent. in order to make available every ton of shipping for carrying food and ammunition to Europe. Losses in tonnage due to the submarine and the slowing up of work in the shipyards, owing to strikes and the prolonged cold weather, have made this action necessary. It is expected that 1,000,000 tons will be added to the tonnage now available.

THE loss of tonnage due to submarines and mines during 1917 was three times the total tonnage produced by Great Britain and the United States in that time, according to a statement made by Andrew Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the House of Commons. Great Britain produced 1,163,474 tons of shipping, the United States 901,223 tons, a total of 2,064,697 tons, while the submarine destroyed 6,000,000 tons. The aggregate available from Japan, Italy, France, and other nations in 1917 did not equal 1,000,000 tons, so that the submarine loss more than doubled the new tonnage produced.

A STRIKE among the carpenters in the shipyards of many Eastern States was averted by President Wilson, when he sent a letter to William L. Hutcheson, general president of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, calling upon him to abide by the decisions of the Shipbuilding Wage Adjustment Board. The crisis in the shipyards was due to a strike of the carpenters in some shipyards because of grievances over the scale of wages and alleged sweatshop methods of their employers. The strikes were most widespread in Staten Island and in the Delaware River and Baltimore districts. Chairman Hurley, of the Shipping Board, called on the striking shipworkers to return to work on patriotic grounds in order not to imperil our army abroad by lessening the tonnage needed for food and munitions. The present wage of $4.80 a day has been raised to $5.60 a day, or 70 cents an hour, in the Delaware and Baltimore districts, and this adjustment will form the basis for a general wage scale in the East.

SUBMARINES and mines destroyed nineteen British ships during the week of February 6-13, according to the latest report of the British Admiralty. Thirteen of these were of more than 1,600 tons, six of less. These figures are the highest since January 5. Four Italian steamers of more than 1,600 tons were sunk during the week of February 3 to 9, as against one during the preceding week; while one French vessel of more and one of less than 1,600 tons were destroyed during the same time. A submarine bombarded Dover, causing a few casualties and slight material damage before it was driven off by shore batteries. German raiders also sank eight British boats on patrol duty in the Straits of Dover, in a surprise attack lasting 45 minutes, on the morning of February 15.

AIR raids on London by the Germans occurred on February 16, 17, and 18, when several bombs were dropped in the London district, causing a number of casualties. At Dover an aerial raid was repelled by British pilots. In reprisal for the recent French raid on Saarbrücken, Berlin reports that German aviators bombarded Nancy. The French War Office reports that French pilots brought down twenty-eight German airplanes from February 1 to 10.

(*Continued on next page.*)

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(*Continued from preceding page.*)

FIGHTING on all fronts continues in the form of frequent raids, artillery duels, and reconnoitring operations, with no significant gains on either side. The French in the Champagne have been very active, and in the region of Butte Mesnil, between Verdun and Rheims, succeeded in destroying the enemy's defences and in penetrating to the third line, with the capture of 160 prisoners. American artillery took part in the preliminary bombardment, lasting six hours, and in the ensuing barrage. Spirited artillery engagements are reported in the Woevre and the Vosges Mountains and south of Verdun along the St. Mihiel salient. The American forces in the Lorraine sector are holding almost eight miles from Flirey to Apremont, on a line extending eastward from St. Mihiel to Pont-à-Mousson. An American patrol, cut off by a current of electricity between the first and second lines of German entanglements, returned in safety to their positions.

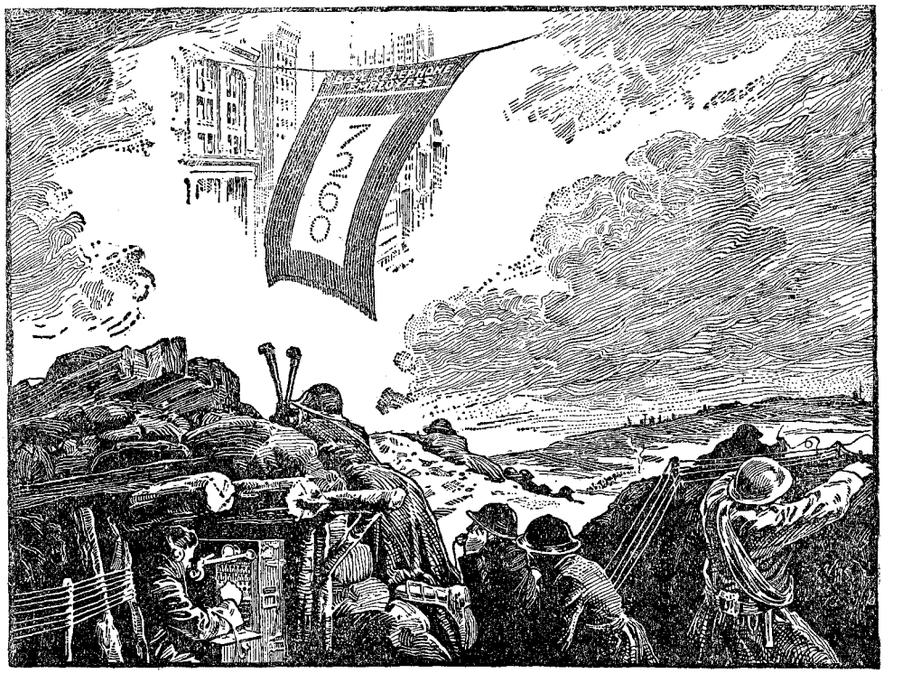
ON the British front, in the region of Lens, patrol encounters between British and German troops have been reported. The Canadians carried out two successful raids, one northwest of Passchendaele and one north of Lens, near Hill 70. On the Italian front lively artillery actions have continued west of Lake Garda, east of the Brenta, and on the Piave.

THE "heatless" Mondays have been provisionally suspended by Fuel Administrator Garfield, and unless the return of bad weather should cause further difficulties in transportation and a new coal shortage, this suspension order will not be revoked. The preference list for coal for certain industries is retained, and in New England the closing order for Mondays continues, owing to special local difficulties in transportation. According to the Fuel Administrator, 480 ships were coaled and freed for sailing and 2,000,000 tons of food, fuel, and munitions sent to sea in a period of twelve days, as a result of the closed Mondays.

MR. WILL H. HAYS, of Indiana, was elected Chairman of the Republican National Committee at St. Louis last week, and John T. Adams, of Iowa, Vice-Chairman. Mr. Hays was the Chairman of the Republican State Committee of Indiana when the Republicans of that State won the State elections from the Democratic party. Senator Boies Penrose, of Pennsylvania, and the Old Guard Republicans dominated the meetings of the National Committee, and the Progressives were officially eliminated from active participation in the Republican party.

SIR CECIL SPRING-RICE, late British Ambassador to the United States, died suddenly on February 14 at Ottawa. Sir Cecil represented his country here with tact and discretion from April, 1913, until the beginning of the present year. His successor, Lord Reading, was formally received by President Wilson last week.

BOLO PASHA, the Levantine adventurer and financier, accused of carrying on treasonable propaganda among the French people in favor of an early peace, was convicted of high treason before a court-martial and condemned to death. The case has attracted especial attention because it involved former Premier Caillaux, the chief advocate of a rapprochement between France and Germany.



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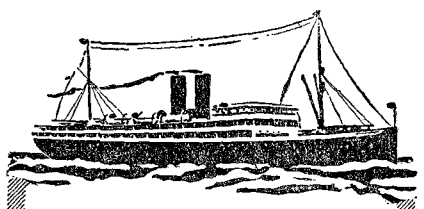

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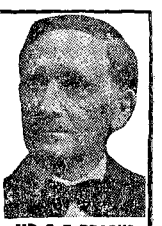

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